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This study tries to establish a baseline for the teaching of the French subjunctive in the United States and to encourage further scholarship by summarizing past activities. Distinctive subjunctive structures were extracted from 18 French newspapers and magazines and 15 recorded, non-directed interviews with native informants, thus providing stimuli used in eliciting subjunctive constructions from 60 additional informants. These responded individually to each stimulus in recorded interviews which, when analyzed, resulted in (1) a ranked list of the most consistently used stimuli to subjunctive usage, (2) a list of traditional categories with their most frequent stimuli, (3) observations about the stability of specific structures as they pertain to teaching needs and theories previously established. Conclusions were that the subjunctive is much alive in spoken French and that it should be presented gradually. Familiar forms should be stressed initially, then the most stable uses, then uses involving fine nuances. A basis for the choice of whether and when to present specific structures as well as the type and order of drills to be used are provided in this study. A bibliography of over 100 items and appendixes containing samples of some materials studied are included. (Author)

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A Descriptive Study of Subjunctive Usage in Contemporary French

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SUMMARY

The *Français Fondamental*, result of a thorough, competently directed frequency study, which constitutes a baseline of vocabulary selection for textbooks and other teaching methods of French, touches only lightly on grammar. Seeing a need for similar treatment of grammatical subjects and having been interested for almost 20 years in subjunctive usage - I had compared the French, German and English uses of this mood in my doctoral dissertation - I believed that I could, in a study comparable in methods, if not in scope, to the one that led to the *Français Fondamental*, provide similar information for those teachers and textbook writers who need to explain that mood.

In this descriptive study of the subjunctive in spoken French, I proceeded in the following manner: in the introduction I tried to show how mood in general and the subjunctive in particular had been defined, what the forms of the subjunctive are, what the history is, how they have been classified by linguists particularly interested in them, how the use of the subjunctive in French compares with that in other languages and what I consider to be the basic differences between written and spoken language. I tried to demonstrate that some linguists and grammarians think of this mood as being widely used, alive and even expanding and others consider it, in the image of one of its tenses, to be dying and ready to be replaced by the indicative, the conditional or the infinitive. I tried to show the importance of statistical studies, particularly those concerned with frequency of vocabulary, for the teaching of language and for the understanding of linguistic problems, and at the same time the need for a study such as mine to be based not only on frequency and range, but also on stability, i.e. the frequency and consistency with which a structure is used within a given sample. I supplied some suggestions about methods and sequences for teaching the subjunctive and explained how these methods and sequences would be implemented with the help of a baseline of subjunctive usage which was to be the major result of my study.

In the description of the methods used, I listed two types of recorded interviews; a series of 15 non-directed ones, in which native informants were asked questions not directly related to grammar; directed interviews which were conducted with the help of 60 native speakers of French. After all distinctive subjunctive structures (a subjunctive

preceded by its eliciting factor or stimulus) had been extracted from the non-directed interviews and from 18 French newspapers and magazines, so that parts of the most frequent ones could be used as stimuli to elicit subjunctive usage from these persons. I described the control features which were to show the validity of the interviewing techniques, consisting of the addition of stimuli ordinarily followed by the indicative, recorded prepared lectures by university professors and a series of questionnaires in which some of the same interviewees reacted, favorably or unfavorably, to recorded sentences containing acceptable or unacceptable subjunctive usage.

On the basis of an analysis of these interview results which were coded and (after the assimilation of as many non-distinctive forms as possible) processed through a computer system, I arrived at a list of the 50 most frequent and stable stimuli to subjunctive usage. I also arrived at some tentative answers about which uses of the subjunctive were not frequent and stable enough to be taught to beginning and intermediate students of French (e.g. the subjunctive following negative and interrogative declarative verbs) and observed that new uses cited by prominent linguists (e.g. après que followed by the subjunctive) were not actually part of the language of the persons interviewed.

I determined that while the subjunctive is very much alive in spoken French, there are some indications of weakness. Among the persons interviewed women and young people used fewer subjunctives than men and older people respectively, and the fact that those accustomed to public speaking had not used this mood as frequently as their less educated fellow interviewees, could be interpreted to mean that in order to communicate with the public, they had to curtail their subjunctive usage.

I recommended that the subjunctive be taught in French courses of all levels, along guidelines of frequency and stability established in this study, but that in beginning courses psychological factors, the advantage of stressing what is familiar, e.g., similarities with forms already known, be considered also.

The study included an extensive and subjectively commentated bibliography and appendixes containing samples of interviews, questionnaires and suggested pattern drills for teaching the subjunctive.

INTRODUCTION

Definitions of the Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive has been described as one of the most mysterious notions in the grammar of many languages. This is particularly true for French where one grammarian[1] calls it "the mood which is the richest in secrets, the most delicate in uses of all languages which, like French, have attained a high stage of development."

The whole concept of mood is complicated, interpreted differently in different languages and controversial, particularly within the scope of the French language. Harsh's[2] definitions of mood in general and of the subjunctive in particular, specifically as applied to English, are perhaps the most universally applicable. According to him, mood refers to the verbal inflections or to syntactic contrasts that denote by a formal opposition the relations between one verb in the sentence and another verb structure and express a notional contrast that supposedly indicates the attitude of the speaker and writer toward the action or state of affairs expressed by the verb. Thus, the subjunctive indicates the relationship between a dependent verb and another verb structure expressing notions like wish, desire, command or emotion and that the speaker or writer is thinking in terms of a non-fact or a modification of fact as distinct from fact which would be described in the indicative mood.

Almost all grammarians agree that subordination is one of the important aspects to be at least implied in definitions of the subjunctive since that mood is used almost exclusively in subordinate clauses. But, even traditionalists like Grevisse[3] and the authors of the new "Grammaire Larousse"[4] to whom rules and observations of usage are important, having realized that mental concepts are also an important element in some uses of mood, were unable or unwilling to exclude them completely from their considerations of the subjunctive. For Grevisse the subjunctive interprets an action being considered with a certain transport (élan) of the soul (as opposed to the real action of the indicative and the eventual or hypothetical one of the conditional); for the

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[1] LeBidois, G. and R., Syntaxe du francais moderne (Paris: Picard, 1935-1938), t.1, p. 500.

[2] Harsh, Wayne, The subjunctive in English (University of Alabama Press, 1968), p. 13.

[3] Grevisse, Maurice, Le bon usage (Gembloux, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1949).

[4] Chevalier, Blanche-Benveniste, Arrivé and Peytard, Grammaire Larousse (Paris, 1964).

Larousse team, it is the mood which the speaker uses to indicate appreciation of the realization or the possibility of the realization of action. According to Guillaume,[5] who is concerned with the aspect of "temps" (time or tense), it is a mood of interpretation rather than actualization of facts, since it contains no clear delimitation of tense.

Many other linguists, like LeBidois, Lerch,[6] Soltmann,[7] have been unable to avoid the temptation of defining the subjunctive wholly in psychological terms. Soltmann, for whom the verb does not express action, but reflections of the soul, sees in the subjunctive a reflection of the feeling of uncertainty (Spiegelung des Gefühls der Unsicherheit).

Harsh infers in a more general definition that moods are stylistic matters organized by grammarians on the basis of a knowledge of the choice and use of words in formal discourse. One could generalize even beyond this notion and indicate, as was done in a recent grammar[8] that the subjunctive constitutes a series of forms (sometimes distinctive, sometimes overlapping those of the indicative) that are used under certain *definable circumstances.*

Forms of the Subjunctive

The subjunctive mood in modern French runs a poor second to the indicative as far as variety of tenses is concerned. There are four tenses, two simple tenses, the present and the imperfect, and two compound tenses - part of a whole system of compound tenses which the language adopted during the Old French period - the perfect (que j'aie aimé) and the pluperfect (que j'eusse aimé). The perfect subjunctive is composed of the present subjunctive of the auxiliary and the past participle - the pluperfect of the imperfect subjunctive of the auxiliary and the past participle. While the perfect subjunctive, being based on the distinctive forms of the auxiliaries avoir and être, is always recognizable, the forms of the present tense overlap for many verbs[9], on the one hand, those of the present indicative, on the other, those of the imperfect indicative. Thus, the use of the conjunction que, which generally precedes distinctive and non-distinctive forms of the subjunctive, has frequently been interpreted as the result of a need to announce a subjunctive form and thus assure its recognition. Most imperfect subjunctives are easily distinguishable, though this tense has been undergoing another series of pressures. Its forms show, for the most frequent conjugations, endings in "-ass" and "-uss", having distinct pejorative connotations. These endings, combined with the general morphology of the imperfect subjunctive, make for long words which are generally avoided by speakers of all languages, and frequently provide a pedantic, sometimes over-elegant, sometimes ridiculous element, which is stressed by the following poem, cited in my doctoral dissertation, in which a pedant expresses his amorous difficulties:

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[5] Guillaume, G., Temps et Verbe (Paris, 1929).

[6] Lerch, Eugene, Hauptprobleme der Französischen Sprache (Berlin, G. Westermann, 1930-1931).

[7] Soltmann, Syntax der Modi im Modernen Französischen (Halle, 1914).

[8] Bieler, Haac and Léon, Perspectives de France (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 53.

> "Fallait-il que je vous aimasse,
> Que vous me désespérassiez,
> Et qu'en vain je m'opiniâtrasse,
> Et que je vous idolâtrasse,
> Pour que vous m'assassinassiez?"

Some of these difficulties are carried over to the pluperfect subjunctive, since it uses imperfect subjunctive forms of the auxiliary. Thus, the subjunctive forms fall into two categories, one that is very much alive, even expanding according to some grammarians, consisting of the present and perfect tenses, and one that is dead or dying, consisting of the imperfect and pluperfect.

There are also some individual, specific forms of the subjunctive, which have become a part of a series of "expressions figées" which have also been called formulaic types. "Soit", Vive le roi", Coûte que coûte", "Pour autant que je sache", in which the subjunctive is used in one form only, can be put into this category.

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[9] The most frequent conjugation, that of all regular -er verbs, contains only two distinctive forms for the present subjunctive; even those, the first and second person plural, are identical to the same persons of the imperfect indicative. Regular -re, -ir and most irregular verbs have five distinctive forms, two of which also overlap the imperfect indicative. Some very irregular verbs (avoir, être, savoir, faire, pouvoir, vouloir) have distinctive forms in all persons of the present subjunctive. Avoir, être and savoir show a marked similarity between the present subjunctive and the imperative. This combination of similarities and difficulties has led, on the one hand, to replacement of the subjunctive by the indicative in some regions of France, on the other hand, to the use of analogical forms (que j'alle, que je peuve, etc.) by children or other uneducated speakers.

A future subjunctive, "que je doive aller", cited by Cohen,[10] is contestable.

Uses of the Subjunctive

I shall now examine briefly how the uses of the subjunctive might be and have been classified conveniently and uniformly, how that mood has been used in the different stages of development of the French language and how subjunctive usage (as determined by those dealing mainly with written French) differs from that in other languages.

Classification

Classification of usage is only of limited importance to modern teaching methods, since different structures are frequently taught separately. It is useful though, for the purpose of an organized and consistent study, to arrive at terminology which can be applied uniformly to all situations and is understood by those who only posses a sprinkling of grammar and linguistics. Such a classification will of necessity be based on normative concepts, but even normative grammatical systems are initially descriptive of usage.

Tanase,[11] a Rumanian student of French in his work on the subjunctive, uses normative grammatical divisions and terminology extensively. While almost completely ignoring principal and independent clauses, he classifies subordinate uses into noun clauses (subordonnées complétives), adjectival clauses (subordonnées conjonctives) and adverbial clauses (subordonnées circonstantielles). In the noun clauses he distinguishes among will, desire, and wish (Je désire, je voudrais, je souhaite qu'il vienne[12]); supplication, request and command (Je prie, demande, commande qu'il fasse ceci); advice and exhortation (Je conseille, j'encourage que son fils vienne); decree and decision (Je décrète, je décide que ceci soit fait); effort, hindrance and achievement (Je fais de mon mieux, obtiens, empêche qu'il y ait de la lumière); anticipation and hope (J'attends, je n'espère pas qu'il vienne); permission and prohibition (Je permets, défends, qu'on fasse ceci); necessity (Il faut que je fasse ceci); appropriateness (Il convient que vous veniez seul); utility and justice (Il est utile, juste que vous obteniez tout). To these he adds supposition (Supposez qu'il pleuve), importance (Il est important que vous gagniez), time (Il est temps que vous gagniez), doubt (Je doute que vous puissiez venir), fear (J'ai peur que vous ne compreniez rien), negation (Je ne comprends pas que vous disiez ceci), possibility (Il se peut qu'elle soit fatiguée), and the cases where the dependent clause precedes the independent one, generally indicating an element of choice (Qu'il s'agisse de la pluie ou du beau temps).

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[10] Cohen, Marcel, Le subjonctif en français contemporain 2e édition, Société d'Edition d'Enseignement Supérieur, Paris, 1965), p. 36.

[11] Tanase, Eugen, Essai sur la valeur et les emplois du subjonctiff en français (thèse principale) (Montpellier, 1943).

[12] Since Tanase does not explain all of his uses and in some cases gives examples that are in unsatisfactory French, I shall try to clarify his classifications by substituting my own examples.

For adverbial clauses he distinguishes among the following notions: time (...avant qu'il vienne), purpose (...pour qu'il fasse ceci), result (...de sorte qu'il fasse ceci), condition (...pourvu qu'il vienne), supposition (...supposé qu'il ne puisse pas venir), comparison (...pour autant qu'il fasse froid), opposition (...sans que je le sache), and concession (...bien qu'il ne comprenne rien).

Cohen[13] uses a very similar organization. While he does include independent and principal clauses dealing with situations of command,[14] wish,[15] or supposition,[16] and adds an "interdependent" category devoted to eventuality and condition, he also divides subordinate clauses into nouns, adverbial and adjectival.[17] Noun clauses, for him, include wish and desire; sentiments other than wish; obligation and related ideas; occurrence (Il semble, il est possible que nous puissions venir etc.); knowledge, affirmation, and appreciation. Adjectival clauses include selection (Il n'y avait qu'un homme qui fumât dans la Sorbonne); superlative usage (two major omissions by Tanase); comparison (Ceci est beaucoup mieux dit que je ne puisse le dire); evaluation (deux mesures selon qu'il s'agisse...); circumstance, e.g. attenuation of an affirmation (Mais le fait qu'il existât allait changer bien des choses). Adverbial clauses include elements of concession; reserve with evaluation (...quelle que soit la sécheresse); condition; exception (...à moins qu'il ne soit malade); purpose; consequence; cause; and time.

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[13] Op. Cit, p. 293.

[14] "Qu'il vienne!"

[15] "Ah, que je guérisse avant l'hiver! Vive la nation!"

[16] "Eût-on réussi!" with the reservation that the form is employed only by people who use the imperfect subjunctive naturally.

[17] In each category he states subjunctive uses and other possibilities like uses of the indicative, infinitive, and conditional.

The new Larousse Grammar follows similar lines in its treatment of sentences and clauses and Wagner-Pinchon,[18] after classifying subjunctive uses semantically rather than syntactically (le rêve est bon; pourvu qu'on le tienne pour ce qu'il est" and "...il se fâche que Vanina ne veuille pas se marier" are put in the same category) goes back to the old classifications when this is convenient; for instance, when dealing with alternation between the subjunctive and the indicative.

I used even simpler groupings than Tanase and Cohen in my doctoral dissertation,[19] also dividing subordinate clauses into those replacing the noun, the adjective and the adverb. The subjunctive in noun clauses follows verbs of will and desire, declarative verbs (if they are used negatively or interogatively), verbs of emotion and impersonal verbs, or precedes the principal clause; in adjectival clauses it expresses a goal to be obtained, follows a superlative or a principal clause with a verb that is in the negative, interrogative or conditional; adverbial clauses taking the subjunctive may express purpose, consequence, negative cause,[20] time, concession, comparison and condition. An almost identical classification will be used in chapters III and IV.

History

Most subjunctive usage in French was carried over from Latin where this mood was widely used. In that language the subjunctive was frequent in subordinate clauses, especially hypotheses, but also in principal and independent clauses in which the verb had a conditional or optative connotation. But the conditional, already in Old French, robbed the subjunctive of its ability to express hypothetical action.

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[18] Wagner, R. L. and Pinchon, J., Grammaire du français classique et moderne (Hachette, Paris, 1962), pp. 322, 323.

[19] Bieler, Arthur, Le subjonctif dans les langue modernes: allemand, anglais, et français (unpublished dissertation, Paris, 1952).

[20] This is the equivalent of Tanase's "opposition".

Uses of the subjunctive in the indirect question also disappeared rapidly. The old language gave the speaker a choice between "Je crois qu'il viendra" and "Je crois qu'il vienne", usage found until the end of the seventeenth century. The same choice existed for many noun and adverbial clauses until strict grammarians and participants in the fixation process of language (Vaugelas, Corneille) moved toward principles of grammatical servitude.[21] Use of the infinitive with a subject different from that of the principal clause was still accepted in the 18th century and Latin influence was very much in evidence until the 18th century when personal moods (including the subjunctive) won out over constructions resembling the "accusativus cum infinitivo."[22] A "sequence of tenses" which at least theoretically existed throughout late Latin and early French was first modified by the addition to the subjunctive of the perfect and the pluperfect tenses. Then it disintegrated almost completely when the decline of the imperfect subjunctive became more and more pronounced, and the ensuing loss of the pluperfect subjunctive left only two tenses of the subjunctive.[23]

Ferdinand Brunot severely criticizes the sequence of tenses established by Lévizac in the seventeenth century.. According to this grammarian, the present subjunctive corresponds to the:

present future future perfect	of the indicative	je veux je voudrai quand j'aurai voulu	que tu viennes.

The perfect subjunctive corresponds to the:

present past indefinite future future perfect	of the indicative	je veux j'ai voulu je voudrai quand j'aurai voulu	que tu aies écrit

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[21] Brunot, Ferdinand, La pensée et la langue (Masson, Paris, 1953). F. Brunot uses this term to indicate that in many cases selection of mood depends exclusively on the particular antecedent used, rather than on an interpretation of the thought to be expected.

[22] This construction is not dead, though. Marcel Cohen quotes an example of modern popular speech: "J'en ai laissé fleurir pour moi avoir de la graine.", Op. Cit., p. 198.

[23] According to Marcel Cohen, even conservative speakers and writers used almost no forms of the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive beyond the auxiliary (qu'il eût, que nous fussions), and a few short verbs (faire, savoir), while for some verbs only the third person singular survived.

The imperfect subjunctive corresponds to the:

imperfect	of the indicative	je voulais	que tu vinsses
the two preterits		je voulus j'ai voulu	
pluperfect		j'avais voulu	
the two conditionals		je voudrais j'aurais voulu	

The pluperfect subjunctive corresponds to the:

imperfect	of the indicative	je voulais	que tu eusses écrit que tu fusses venu[24]
two preterits		je voulus j'ai voulu	
two pluperfects		quand j'eus voulu j'avais voulu	
two conditionals		je voudrais j'aurais voulu	

Brunot proceeds to show that some of Lévizac's agreements are purely imaginary like "quand j'aurai voulu que tu aies écrit," and that others that would be perfectly correct are omitted like "J'ai voulu que vous soyez au courant de cette affaire". He states further that the criticized theories are not only full of errors and omissions but that the principle itself is defective. According to him it is not the tense but the meaning of the principal clause which elicits the tense of the subordinate verb. He ends by saying that there is no sequence of tenses.

Some students of the subjunctive (Cohen, Bieler, c.a.) do see a semblance of a sequence of tenses in subjunctive usage of modern French. They distinguish among three possible uses of tense in the subjunctive. The principal verb maybe in the present, in the conditional, or in a past tense. If the principal clause is in the present tense, either the present or the past subjunctive (according to the meaning to be expressed) is accepted both in written and spoken[25] French. (Je veux qu'il vienne; je regrette qu'il ne soit pas venu.)

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[24] Only the section concerning the subjunctive is quoted here, Op. Cit., p. 782.

[25] The observations made in reference to the spoken language will be further tested in this study.

Both spoken and written French consistently use the present or the past subjunctive after a principal clause with its verb in the conditional. (Je voudrais qu'il vienne, qu'il soit venu.) The same present and perfect subjunctives are used in conversation following a verb in a past tense (Je voulais qu'il vienne, soit venu); but according to Cohen, the rule asking for the imperfect or the pluperfect subjunctive in the written language, is fairly consistently followed in modern literature. It must be observed though, that there are many infractions and that descriptive grammarians accept the use of the present subjunctive after a principal clause to refer to present and future actions whose verb is in any of the past tenses (je voulais qu'il vienne). This is especially true after a verb in the passé composé; Cohen states the example "J'ai voulu que mon fils soit bien habillé".

Comparison With Other Languages

We assume that in early languages the subjunctive was at first vaguely used in a variety of cases which would be difficult (logically or notionally) to delimitate as against the use of the indicative. Each language took its own course in sometimes restricting, sometimes extending the sphere of its employment. The vagueness of meaning of the subjunctive and the overlapping of forms facilitated certain transitions, losses and confusions. Combined with other factors (tradition, euphemisms), this has brought about a strong tendency to diminish or eliminate the use of the subjunctive in certain languages.

While the subjunctive is ever-present in Spanish and Italian, slightly less so in Rumanian, (languages which essentially preserve the original (Latin) grammar) and is described by some to be on the increase in French, only isolated uses are still in existence in English, Danish and Russian. These isolated uses are relics which go largely unrecognized by the speaker. They are probably due to the quality of languages described by Marcel Cohen as an inertia which permits them to conserve categories and forms whose meaning is no longer perceptible.

A language in which the subjunctive is not clearly definable but still very much alive is German. The German subjunctive is very much in evidence in the principal clause, particularly in that of the conditional sentence, where French never uses it. On the other hand, in noun clauses where the French speaker always uses the subjunctive after verbs expressing will or desire, his German counterpart does so very rarely. The use of the subjunctive after verbs of sentiment is restricted entirely to the French language.

Only after declarative verbs does German use this mood more frequently than French. Actually, German accepts subjunctive usage after all declarative verbs, whether they are used affirmatively or negatively, interrogatively or conditionally. The German language uses the subjunctive just as frequently in indirect discourse, where French always uses the indicative.

Both languages employ the subjunctive in adjectival clauses, although this use is much rarer in German than in French. It is in these clauses that the French speaker, by retaining the possibility of choosing the mood according to the nuances of his thought, comes the closest to German usage where "servitudes grammaticales" play only a very minor role.

In adverbial clauses where these "servitudes" are the most strongly felt in French (with the exception of "de manière que, de façon que") and debatable uses like "avant le moment où" etc., the German language uses the subjunctive exclusively to indicate an element of uncertainty or irrelality or at least modesty. In modern German, especially in the spoken language, in the absence of rigid grammatical principles, it is the indicative which dominates the adverbial clause, although the subjunctive is used in the very conditional sentences from which modern usage has eliminated it in French.

Written Versus Spoken Language

While usage differs among national languages, important differences also exist within each of these languages. I am not dealing in this study with highly specialized jargons, but I am vitally concerned with the difference between written language, upon which the teaching of French in general and that of the subjunctive in particular, have been based until now, and the spoken language.[26] The temptation is great to make up teaching materials from the written language since its materials are readily available, and often seemingly include (in plays and novels) sources from the spoken idiom. It is also likely that textbook writers will choose certain uses and structures to be taught simply because they seem correct and useful to them individually, though it does not seem logical that materials based on anything but a methodical study of usage would give a faithful reproduction of the spoken language.

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[26] What I am really referring to is a composit spoken language, to be created by combining usage from different education and age groups, excluding the language of the completely uneducated and that of children.

Historical linguists and common sense indicate that the conservative element in language is based upon written usage, while changes occur first in speech. Imbs[27] speaks of a "zone of conservation", which describes cultivated language, especially in its written form, and a "zone of innovation" referring to popular, colloquial speech - the language spoken by the people. It is thus logical that this zone of innovation, exposed to contacts and pressures from which the written language is immune, be different from it. We might draw certain conclusions about these differences: it can be expected, for example, that speech being a more immediate form of communication than writing and not as committing, be more spontaneous and briefer than the latter. Greater briefness would make for fewer dependent clauses and fewer subjunctives since the subjunctive occurs mainly in subordination. More spontaneous, less careful speech might also result in a certain breakdown of subjunctive usage by tempting the speaker to use subjunctives, indicatives and conditionals less discriminately than they would when they are writing. Thus, we can surmise that the subjunctive is less frequent in speech than in writing, but we are not completely certain about this fact. We are even less certain as to which structures of the subjunctive occur so consistently and naturally, especially in the spoken language, that they should be taught to beginning students and which structures are rare in oral use, constituting distinguished artificialities, "elegant" or academic subjunctives, for which even an advanced student of the language has no imperative need.

Most of the theories about the difference between written and spoken language are based upon assumptions that still need to be tested by going to the most logical source, namely the spoken language, thus following the advice of R. L. Wagner, the philologist and grammarian, who has repeatedly asked his colleagues to use the living, spoken language as a point of departure for any linguistic study.

Linguists like Damourette-Pichon did study the spoken language, but in the absence of neutral and faithful electronic devices, they were restricted to questionnaires and handwritten interviews or to amassing empirical evidence over a period of years. Others like Van der Molen, Frei and Bauche, while working under the same conditions, concentrated on regional or colloquial languages. It would be extremely

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27 Imbs, Paul, Le subjonctif en français moderne (Straub, 1953), p. 9.

difficult to come close to Marcel Cohen's study of the subjunctive as far as scope is concerned. His thorough and scholarly work covers all facets of subjunctive usage from many angles, although even he proceeds largely from empirical evidence and uses many sources[28] from the written language.

While Cohen's research has served as a point of departure for many of my considerations, the aim of my work, that of establishing exemplified lists of subjunctive structures for the purpose of language teaching, is much narrower and yet more specific. This fact and the availability of recording and computer facilities led me in directions quite different from those taken by him.

What seems to be needed in order to establish basic patterns for a grammatical structure, such as the subjunctive (patterns taken directly from the spoken language) are a series of recorded interviews conducted in such a manner that natural subjunctive usage is elicited as frequently as possible. A great number of such interviews would be necessary to obtain conclusive evidence about the most important subjunctive structures. Therefore, it might be advisable to create an additional basis for such a study which could be provided by the language of the journalistic profession. Subjunctive structures culled from newspapers and magazines could first be compared as to frequency and type with those obtained from a limited number of interviews and then be tested individually on a representative sample of speakers of French in order to determine how consistently they are used.

Vitality of the Subjunctive

Many linguists see a conscious avoidance of the subjunctive in its replacement by substantive, infinitive, or conditional structures. Whether conscious or not, such a replacement certainly takes place in varying degrees in most languages in their oral and written form. It is logical that Harsh devotes a great deal of space to the replacement of the subjunctive, since in the English language, with which he deals almost exclusively, there is actually almost nothing left of this mood. Constructions which originally used the subjunctive have certainly been replaced satisfactorily, since the language is as expressive as ever. I have shown above that the German language, in both its written and spoken form, leaves it subjects a great deal of leeway; they use the subjunctive and indicative almost indiscriminately. In French there have been great changes in the use of the subjunctive. At an early stage of the development of the French language, the conditional replaced the subjunctive in almost all types of conditional sentences. That mood is also used in contemporary spoken French in sentences like "je voudarais qu'il viendrait; il aurait fallu qu'on aurait changé". These are cited by Grevisse as uses to be avoided, but undoubtedly they satisfy the need to create a certain harmony between the dependent structure and the preceding conditional. Bruneau quotes (and I shall test in this study) a case from colloquial spoken French where the conditional replaces the subjunctive in respect to its modal value. "Je cherche une maison qui aurait un jardin." It is also true that the popular language sometimes simply ignores the existence of the subjunctive and uses the indicative in situations where more careful speakers would use the former mood.

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[28] Among his sources are newspapers and magazines which I consider to be the closest to the spoken language since journalists must successfully (i.e. rapidly and easily) communicate with a large cross section of the population. His use of prepared speeches and lectures, as near-equivalents of the spoken language, gave me the idea of using similar sources in testing the validity of the methods in my study.

The mood that supposedly has made the largest inroads into subjunctive usage is the infinitive. Especially Frei and Tanase often speak of a tendency by speakers of French to replace the subjunctive by an infinitive construction. This might be true for most impersonal verbs, where it is easy for the speaker to substitute "Il faut partir" for "Il faut que je parte" or "le faut que nous partions"; "Il est normal de faire ceci" for "Il est normal que je fasse ceci"; "Il est temps de s'en aller" for "Il est temps que je m'en aille". But other impersonal constructions like il semble, il se peut, do not lend themselves to such substitutions. As far as most transitive verbs are concerned, the use of the infinitive seems to indicate clearly that the subjects of the principal and infinitive clauses are in the same person (Je veux partir).[29] A difference in subjects would call for the use of a personal mood with a finite verb form, thus the subjunctive if it is otherwise required. Neither "Je veux partir" nor "Il veut partir" can take the place of "Je veux qu'il parte." I rather believe that the opposite is true, that finite verb forms have replaced the Latin ACI construction and that the subjunctive has inherited its share of this defunct usage.

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[29] In verbs like dire the subject of the infinitive is in the same person as the indirect object (je lui dis de partir).

I shall try to show in Chapter IV the relative frequencies in the spoken language of *jusqu'au moment où*, *avant le moment où* with the indicative instead of *jusqu'à ce que* and *avant que* with the subjunctive, which have been observed by some linguists as conscious replacements for the subjunctive.[30] I shall also study the use of *de ce que*[31] with the indicative instead of *que* with the subjunctive after verbs generally taking the subjunctive and for *quand même que* and *tout de même que* instead of *quoique*, *bien que* and *encore que*.

I believe, though, that more important than the replacement problem is the fact that writers and especially speakers of a language show a concern for simplicity and sometimes brevity by avoiding compound and complex sentences as much as possible. The subjunctive, being mainly the mood of the dependent clause, becomes the loser in a substitution process which concerns syntax rather than morphology. It would seem difficult to contest the vitality of the subjunctive mood itself if one takes into account the following incident, one of many which I observed personally. In the funicular going up to the Place de Tertre, I recently overheard a little five-year-old asking her mother, "ça ne dure pas longtemps que je grandisse?" A mood that is used as naturally and as sensitively by the very young is not dying as some linguists will have it, nor is it even likely to be in pronounced regression as Dauzat states in his *Génie de la langue française*. Cohen and others use the analogical aspect of children's language to prove that the subjunctive has a great deal of vitality in French. Analitical forms like "que j'ave, que je peuve, que je save" demonstrate a need by the learners of the language for logical completion of linguistic patterns to substitute for difficult, irregular and not yet known forms. It would be much simpler to use the readily available forms of the indicative if the desire were for substitution by eliminating the subjunctive.

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[30] Charles Bruneau suggested this usage as a conscious replacement for the subjunctive in several conversations we had about this mood.

[31] *Grammaire Larousse* quotes Apollinaire who uses the indicative after *de ce que* only because he states the existance of a fact. "F. Léger s'est félicité de ce que Paris est devenu le ceutre artistique du monde." Otherwise, according to Chevalier and his collaborators *de ce que* takes the subjunctive when required. DeBoer, Cornelius, *Introduction à l'étude de la syntaxe du français*, (Paris, 1933), sees the use of *de ce que* as a way of avoiding the subjunctive.

While Bauche[32] and Thérive[33] indicate a relative scarceness of the subjunctive in the language of the uneducated, Van der Molen[34], Frei[35], Damourette-Pichon[36] and especially Cohen indicate throughout their studies that the subjunctive is very much alive even with the very same elements of the population. While everyone is agreed that the subjunctive has almost disappeared from the independent and principal clauses, Cohen finds that its subordinate uses are expanding. He states particularly the case of the subjunctive after "après que", which has been studied by many linguists for both the written and spoken language[37], after il est vrai, j'espère, il est probable, affirmative verbs of opinion and others. He also sees a new future tense of the subjunctive in "que je doive venir".[38]

If one accepts the working of analogy as a major linguistic force, it must be said that for the subjunctive is constitutes both a positive and a negative element. The confusion caused by non-distinctive and overlapping forms contributes to the decline of subjunctive usage. Cohen cites cases of bien que with the indicative and I have friends with schooling beyond the baccalaureate who say regularly "il faut que tu dis". But analogy contributes to the possible expansion of the subjunctive in three different ways. When it creates new forms in the speech of children and the uneducated (que j'alle, peuve, save), the language is enriched, or at least changed, morphologically; when aprés que takes the subjunctive in the image of avant que, we are confronted with a syntactic advance of this mood; when a speaker uses the subjunctive after j'espère que, he instinctively puts the verb espérer into the semantic category of verbs of emotion.

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[32] Bauche, Henri, Le langage populaire, (Payot, Paris, 1951).

[33] Thérive, André, Le français, langue morte? (Paris, Plon, 1923).

[34] Van der Molen, Willem, Le Subjonctif, sa valeur psychologique et son emploi dans la langue parlée (Amsterdam, 1923).

[35] Frei, Henri, La grammaire des fautes (Bellegrade, 1929).

[36] Damourette et Pichon, Des mots à la pensée. Essai de grammaire de la langue français. (Paris, D'Artrey: 1911).

[37] The same phenonenon is treated by Damourette-Pichon, Hanse, Grevisse e.a. in their books and by G. Le Bidois, Cohen, Thérive and Stéfanini in articles, of which Stéfanini's is the most thorough and splits the most hairs. Le Bidois explains it by a commonly shared dislike of the passé antérieur, though he joins the others in accepting the analogy of avant que.

[38] All these uses will also be studied in Chapter IV for their relative frequencies.

Statistics and Language Study

There is considerable evidence that language is to a certain extent a statistical phenomenon; that it is as Guiraud[39] puts it, subject to constant factors and numerical laws and susceptible to quantative definitions and interpretations. Guiraud states further that consistency and frequency of sound are facts that have been observed and recognized for a long time. The science of cryptography has been establishing frequency of letters and their combination in different languages since the sixteenth century. Lexicographers have shown that words themselves occur in speech and writing at a fixed frequency. Zipf[40] argued that we may expect to find a direct relationship between the number of different meanings of a word and its relative frequency of occurrence.[41] Linguistic statisticians also state that grammatical forms are just as stable as sounds and vocabulary items and will occur in predictable numerical relations in the expressions of different speakers or writers. This combination of factors has enabled a group of linguists at the University of Besançon, under the leadership of Professor Bernard Quemada, to conduct style studies which will make it possible to identify authors by the frequency with which they use vocabulary or grammatical constructions. According to Moreau[42] the presence of a linguistic unit in a persons speech appears to be the result of a voluntary choice in the framework of a certain number of rules which permit the speaker to be understood by a listener of the same language. Thus, each person really has speech habits completely his own which combine into what is essentially an individual language. This theory is the basis for a claim by some linguists that each speaker or writer should be studied individually. Frei criticizes the tendency to compile different styles into one language and bases his Livre de deux mille phrases on interviews conducted with one person only.

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[39] Guiraud, Pierre, Problèmes et méthodes de la statistique linguistique (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1960), p.16.

[40] Zipf, George K., Human Behaviour and the Principle of Least Effort (Addison-Wesley, Cambridge, Mass., 1949).

[41] Thence Zipf's law, contested by Ullmann and others which states that different meanings of a word will tend to be equal to the square root of its relative frequency.

In my opinion, the fact that each person is understood by others shows that Moreau's voluntary choice is predictable and that there is a common element among languages of individuals which can be made up into a common language by combining the frequent and stable features of the individual languages. The vocabulary for such a language has been established in the form of the Français Fondamental, which is based on a thorough frequency study.[43] The team of linguists which completed this study was motivated mainly by considerations of frequency and range, the two factors that are usually emphasized in vocabulary studies. Frequency can be defined as the combined number of occurrences of a linguistic item in a group of samples, range as the number of samples that contain the item. The concept of stability, which I would like to define as the determination of whether the item is used uniformly by a variety of speakers and consistently by the same speaker, seems to be particularly relevant as far as verbs and syntactic structures are concerned.[44] It has been shown by several linguists that grammatical words (like que) and verbs are most securely imbedded in our vocabulary. This theory has been reinforced by Michéa's study dealing with aphasia (a disease in which the patient gradually loses his ability to communicate) which showed that, when patients were observed during various stages of their illness, the verb was the last to go among the different parts of speech. The relative weakness of the noun is shown by the fact that the artificial words which we substitute at random for those we cannot find immediately are always nouns (what-you-call-it, thing-a-ma-jig in English, chose, machin or truc in French or Dingsda in German). No need seems to be felt for verbs that can be used in this fashion. Thus, quantitative studies involving the verb and the subjunctive mood (really a combination of the grammatical word que and a verb form) should be particularly valid.

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[42] Moreau, R., Initiation à la méthode statistique en linguistique (Bulletin d'information du laboratoire d'analyse lexicologique, fascicule 6, Besançon, 1962), p. 2.

[43] Gougenheim, Michéa, Rivenc, Sauvageot, L'Elaboration du français élémentaire (Didier, Paris, 1956).

[44] If we take the case of 50 interview samples having been examined for the use of "il faut" and 48 of the samples contained 300 such uses, while two samples contained none, it can be said that the frequency of the structure for the samples examined was 300, the range 48. In the case where 50 speakers were given the opportunity to react to "il faut" by completing it spontaneously - some of the speakers several times - and all 50 completed it with the subjunctive each time, one could state that the stability of subjunctive usage following "il faut" is one hundred percent. Since the same series of structures is tested on each member of the group of 50, the frequency and range of each structure is largely predetermined and thus unimportant in these "directed" interviews.

A certain number of frequency studies involving the subjunctive are available (see bibliography) but they are all concerned with written documents in the older languages. The Français Fondamental does contain, as a by-product, a brief section of grammar in which the authors try to determine what points of grammar to teach to beginning and intermediate students of French (see appendixes). The structures recommended, containing very few subjunctives, were obtained through interviews with a variety of speakers from many social levels, based upon situations wholly determined by vocabulary considerations.

Thus, the need of determining what structures of the subjunctive might be taught at what level of language instruction has not yet been adequately met. What seems to be in order for a study trying to establish a baseline for subjunctive usage is a thorough and faithful recording and examination of carefully selected elements of the spoken language, with a view toward analyzing them partly on the basis of frequency and partly on that of stability.

Teaching of the Subjunctive

Several factors have been detrimental to the effective teaching of the French subjunctive in American high schools and colleges.

Most existing first and second year textbooks devote a great deal of space to a collective treatment of this mood. Obscure and infrequent uses of the subjunctive are taught almost parallelly to those that are a part of the linguistic repertoire of every native speaker. Most textbooks, by attempting to arrange materials according to their degree of-arbitrarily selected-difficulty, confine teaching of the subjunctive to the very last chapter. Since in some French classes these are not reached, an instructor teaching intermediate or even advanced courses encounters students who have never learned the forms and uses of the subjunctive.

Some textbooks teach the subjunctive earlier in the course but fail to convey to the student an understanding of this mood or an automatic response to a subjunctive situation.

American students have a tendency to be afraid of subjunctive usage, because they neither find the comfort of an equivalent in their own language nor, in most cases, a connecting similarity to the structures or verb forms taken up previously during their course of study.

I believe that teachers and textbook writers of French could counteract these factors, more or less effectively, in the following manner.

Teaching of the various subjunctive structures should be based on a frequency and stability study such as the one here in progress. Uses of the subjunctive should be introduced early and increased gradually in conformance with their frequency and stability.

Forms of the subjunctive should be related automatically to complete structures and their place in syntactic pattern. If we accept the fact that the subjunctive in subordinate clauses is elicited by clearly definable stimuli, we can define a complete subjunctive structure as the *eliciting factor* (antecedent) plus the *verb form*. Thus for noun clauses the use of the subjunctive is provoked by certain types of verbs (expressing volition, necessity, sentiment, etc.) serving as predicates of the principal clause[45]; the use of the subjunctive in adjectival clauses is determined by the nature of its antecedent (negative, unattained, modified by a superlative).[46] In adverbial clauses, it is almost always prescribed by certain conjunctions or conjunctive phrases introducing it (*avant que*, *quoique*, *sans que*, etc.).[47] Based on this approach one could compare and oppose syntactic patterns containing subjunctive structures to one another in a series of substitution drills beginning, for example, with the subjunctive in noun clauses of wish and desire and then leading up to those following verbs of emotion or those of necessity. "Je voudrais qu'il fasse beau demain" would lead to "Il faudrait qu'il fasse beau demain" or "Je crains qu'il ne fasse pas beau demain". "Il se peut qu'il ne soit pas encore arrivé" would lead to "Je regrette qu'il ne soit pas encore arrivé." "Je cherche un homme qui sache lire et écrire" would bring about "Je ne connais pas d'homme qui sache lire et écrire" or "C'est le seul homme qui sache lire et écrire". "Je voudrais lui parler, bien qu'il ne soit pas intelligent" might lead to " quoiqu'il ne soit pas intelligent; encore qu'il ne soit pas intelligent; à condition qu'il ne soit pas trop intelligent" etc.

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[45] "Je *regrette* *qu'il* ne *soit* pas *venu*."

[46] "Il *n*'y a *rien* *qui* *puisse* m'aider."

Advantage could be taken of the similarity between certain subjunctive structures and those taking the indicative. In "Je sais que vous me parlez" and "Je veux que vous me parliez" only the verb-slots show differences. A modifying adjective is added to *homme* in "Jean est l'homme qui peut faire tout ce qu'il voudrait" to result, by transformation and expansion, in "Jean est le *seul* homme *qui puisse* faire tout ce qu'il voudrait". Thus, when confronted with a pattern in which sentences of the first type are followed by sentences of the second type, the student, while familiarizing himself with the fact that certain conditions is the principal clause are followed by *est* or *peut* and others by *soit* or *puisse*, is not repelled by major syntactic differences which would have to be learned at the same time. He performs these "transformation and expansion drills" with relative ease, although the expansion element can be of a different nature in cases where there is a danger of creating nonsensical sentences. Thus, "Je vous parle parce que vous êtes seul" replaces "Je vous parle pour que vous ne soyez pas seul." In those drills there are very slight morpho-phonemic differences to be learned for some forms of some verbs ("vous me parliez" for "vous me parlez"), greater differences for all forms of other verbs ("qui puisse" for "qui peut").

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[47] "Je *veux* te voir *avant* *que* *tu* ne *parte*."

It might be advisable to start all patterns with non-distinctive and therefore familiar forms of the subjunctive and then slowly and gradually include morpho-phonemic differences ("Je voudrais qu'il chante" for "Je sais qu'il chante"). The similarity between the subjunctive forms of the verbs avoir, être and savoir to the imperatives of these verbs might also be stressed.

Another decision that should be made is when and whether to teach subjunctives motivated by interpretative or semantic considerations, for instance, in situations in which the element of reality or lack of reality enters. It is questionable whether the student should be asked to make the choice, often instinctively made by a careful native speaker of the language, whether to use the indicative or the subjunctive after a clause like "C'est le meilleur homme qui" or "Je cherche un homme qui" or after the conjunction de façon que. Frequency should be a primary consideration as to when (at what level) and whether certain uses of the subjunctive should be taught. Another major consideration must, in my opinion, be the stability of each structure, that is, whether under certain given circumstances a majority of speakers of French will choose this mood over other alternate possibilities.

The subjunctive in principal and independent clauses, in the rare cases where its use might become essential (soit, qu'il vienne) could be taught as vocabulary.

This Study

The authors of the Elaboration du français élémentaire say in regard to their vocabulary study that, to assure the rapid diffusion of the language, a streamlining is required which will leave only the essential elements. But these essential elements must be truly known.

It is reasonable to assume that the subjunctive is one of the essential elements of the French language. Here are the reasons for which I believe that a streamlining of this element, such as the one I am about to attempt in this study, is in order. (1) Not one of the previous quantitative studies of subjunctive usage dealt with the modern language and none of the authors of theoretical studies, even those concentrating on the spoken idiom, used electronic equipment to preserve the exact and complete utterings of their subjects, or quantitative methods to standardize their procedures. (2) I propose to include such quantitative methods in my study. I also see a distinct need for a consideration of the qualitative aspects of language The stability of each structure needs to be studied as well as its relative frequency. (3) While Gougenheim and his team, as a by-product of their vocabulary study, contributed valuable information pertaining to subjunctive usage, they based their study almost exclusively on considerations of frequency. At the same time they did not provide a complete baseline for subjunctive usage that might serve the functional teaching of French in the United States. In fact, no exemplified lists of subjunctive structures in order of frequency and stability have yet been established. (4) The enormous amount of research necessary for the establishment of a Français Fondamental could not have been conducted without a large team of interviewers and processors, while the study of one aspect of language like that of the subjunctive can only benefit from the unity of operation and purpose that one person can give to it.

My study is based on the following assumptions: (1) that in the teaching of French in the United States, particularly to beginning and intermediate students, emphasis be placed on linguistic usage characteristic for the contemporary spoken language; (2) that this language should be one that could be understood by all native speakers of French without shocking the susceptibilities of the purists or those averse to over-elegant or pronouncedly academic usage; (3) that newspapers and magazines provide a very close link to the spoken language, perhaps even constitute a common denominator for the different levels of that language; (4) that statistical facts about linguistic usage - gathered from a judiciously chosen collection of newspapers and magazines - can be confirmed or disproved by a relatively small sampling of non-directed recorded interviews with a variety of native speakers; (5) that directed recorded interviews can be conducted on the basis of frequencies thus established; (6) that the most frequent and most stable subjunctive structures can be determined by a careful analysis of these interviews; (7) that control procedures are necessary to check whether the methods and procedures used are effective and objective; (8) that by further analysis of the materials collected, additional information can be obtained which might help to throw some new light on subjunctive usage and theory.

METHODS

After a great deal of experimentation, correspondence and traveling and several false starts, I decided on the following methods and procedures.

Newspapers and Magazines

All distinctive subjunctive forms were drawn from three issues[48] each of Le Monde, Le Figaro, Elle, l'Express, Paris-Match and L'Equipe. (Le Monde and Le Figaro are daily papers catering to a highly educated element of the population; the magazines l'Express and Paris-Match try to reach a great percentage of the reading public, while Elle, a magazine designed for young women, and l'Equipe, a daily newspaper dealing exclusively with sports, seek a more limited and generally not highly educated clientele).

The subjunctives thus obtained (only those distinctive either by their form or by their tense)[49] were put on cards and classified by individual structure and grammatical category. All words, finite verb forms, dependent clauses and distinctive subjunctives were counted and recorded.

Non-directed Interviews

Recorded non-directed interviews were conducted with 15 different native speakers from three general levels of education. These 15 persons were selected from a larger group of native speakers of French who had been contacted earlier and had agreed to submit to anonymous interviews for linguistic purposes. They all had in common that they had recently arrived from France or other French-speaking countries and lived in Atlanta or New York.[50] Their interviews were prepared in two manners: for the ones with a University education, questions were asked about current topics (participation of England in the Common Market, India's economic problems, the war in Viet Nam, etc.), selected from interviews that the staff of the magazine Réalités had conducted with prominent personalities; the less educated subjects were asked about their jobs or families (a visiting policeman about his views on police work, the owner of a restaurant about food processing). They knew that the interviews were being recorded - a small tape recorder was very much in evidence - and that they were being recorded for linguistic purposes only.

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[48] Le Monde, October 14, 15, 16; November 2; 1967. Figaro, Airmail edition, September 28; November 23; December 7; 1967. Elle, November 23; November 30; December 14; 1967. L'Express, June 26; August 14; September 4; 1967. Paris-Match, November 25; December 2, 9; 1967. L'Equipe, November 13, 14, 15; 1967.

[49] While il faut que vous puissiez clearly contains the subjunctive, il faut que je parle does not; yet, il faut que je vous parle demain does indicate subjunctive usage.

They did not know what aspect of linguistics I was investigating. Without exception, they became interested in the subjects and spoke most naturally and animatedly about these. The interviews were typed in their entirety and all words, finite verb forms, dependent clauses, distinctive subjunctive structures and infinitives were extracted and classified.[51]

Prepared Lectures

Three taped lectures and parts of two mimeographed University courses were examined and all distinctive subjunctives extracted and counted. (Only 31 were found.)

Directed Interviews

Collection of Materials

The more frequent subjunctive structures, all those used at least five times in the newspapers and magazines and the non-directed interviews - there were none in the taped lectures that had not been found elsewhere - were assembled.

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[50] The terms of my Grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare specified that the research had to be done within the confines of the United States.

[51] Because of the small number of subjunctives involved, 119, I did not examine the results of those non-directed interviews according to frequency and range. A portion of a sample interview and a list of the subjunctives, classified by interviews, can be found in the "appendixes".

All unusual or surprising uses of the subjunctive[52] that occurred less frequently as well as a few structures in which the use of the subjunctive is highly unlikely were added to the above. They were to serve as control features, to help determine whether the subjects spoke consistent to their linguistic habits, whether they tried to speak as elegantly or "correctly" as possible or whether, after having guessed the exact purpose of the interviews, they tried to use as many subjunctives as possible. They would also give some indication of whether the interviewing techniques used by me were valid. (Cues such as je suis sûr or il n'y a pas de doute..., etc. would not be likely to be completed with the subjunctive by a subject speaking naturally.) By retaining much of the vocabulary originally used in the news media and non-directed interviews, the following possible stimuli to subjunctive usage were established. They are classified here by grammatical categories:

NOUN CLAUSES - Verbs of Emotion: Vous redoutez; vous êtes heureux; on peut craindre; vous regrettez; vous seriez étonné; vous trouvez inconcevable; vous êtes atterré à l'idée. Verbs of Volition: (Desire, Preference, Necessity): je préfère; notre but est; le règlement stipule; vous souhaitez; vous avez désiré; vous ne voulez pas; je demande; est-ce que vous voudriez?; que voulez vous?; on aimerait; il obtient. Declarative verbs: je ne dis pas; il faut éviter; on n'admet pas; vous pouvez nier; rien n'indique; mes idées sur la vie ne permettent pas; les Allemands veulent éviter; qui a intérêt?; vous doutez fort; est-ce que je suis sûr; je ne suis plus très sûr; est-ce que vous pensez?; vous ne croyez pas; vous pensez?; vous êtes persuadé?; vous acceptez?; on conçoit; vous concevez mal; vous pouvez imaginer; pouvez-vous envisager?; supposez...! Impersonal Verbs (emotion): il est étrange c'est dommage; vous vous étonnez. Impersonal Verbs (volition, preference, necessity): il fallait; il faudra; il faut; il a fallu; il faudrait; il convient; il vaut mieux; il est temps; il est indispensable; ce qui importe c'est (il est important); il suffit. Impersonal Verbs (declarative): il est impossible; il est exclu; il paraft exclu; il n'est pas vrai; il est douteux; il paraft peu probable; comment se fait-il; est-il normal?; il semble; il n'est pas impossible; il est possible; il se peut; il n'est pas sûr; il est fréquent; il n'est pas rare.

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[52] According to criteria taken from my own experience or the previously cited books by Cohen and Frei.

ADJECTIVAL CLAUSES - *Antecedent Unachieved*: on a besoin d'un emplacement où; je voudrais trouver une servante à qui; on s'efforce de découvrir une voie qui; on va créer un alphabet qui; on cherche un chant qui. *Antecedent in the Superlative*: c'est un des rares joueurs; c'est le meilleur joueur; c'était la première fois de la saison; c'est le seul véritable avant centre. *Negative Antecedent*: il n'y a rien qui.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES - *Of Purpose*: pour que; afin que; *Consecutive*: en sorte que; de façon que. *Causal*: non que; ce n'est pas que. *Temporal*: avant que; jusqu'à ce que; en attendant que. *Concessive*: sans que; bien que; encore que; quoique; où que; en admettant que; si...que (si mal en point qu'il soit); aussi...que (aussi curieux que cela puisse paraftre); quelque...que (quelque pays que ce soit); aussi and inversion (aussi charmante et adorable soit-elle); quoi que (quoi que vous fassiez); que (...qu'elle le veuille ou non); (...qu'il s'agisse de la zone ou du tunnel). *Comparative*: pour autant que; pour peu que. *Conditional*: à condition que; pourvu que; à moins que; à supposer que. *Control Features*: aprés que; espére; jusqu'au moment où; je suis sûr; vous ne doutez pas; je suis persuadé; vous pouvez affirmer; on peut comprendre; vous comprenez; il est certain; il est vrai; il n'y a pas de doute.

For the interviews I selected 60 people from the large group of native speakers who had previously been contacted. This was done in such a manner that they fell into three approximately equal groups as to age (25 or under; 26 to 35; 36 or over) and education (less than 12 years of education; more than 12 years of education; members of the teaching profession). A record was also made of their place of origin and their sex. When starting an interview, I attempted to create a relaxed atmosphere by including a very informal, recorded conversation as a warm-up procedure. I used the above cues according to different techniques for the three major grammatical categories of subjunctive usage. For noun clauses the subjects were given the cue (*il faut*..., *que voulez-vous*..., il se peut..., etc.) and told to complete the sentence as naturally and rapidly as possible, if feasible with *que*. For adverbial clauses they were either given a conjunction (avant que, pour que, etc.) and told to use the conjunction in a sentence, or they were given one or several expressions synonymous to the one I was trying to elicit; to obtain "qu'elle soit bête ou intelligente" for example, the persons were told to express differently "elle pourrait être bête ou intelligente", "peut-être est-elle bête ou intelligente", etc. If there was no response, they were given a choice of several expressions in which the one to be elicited was included. For adjectival clauses they heard the beginning of a sentence as a cue ("c'est le pianiste le plus doué, etc.") and told if feasible to complete with que or qui. To make the interviews as spontaneous as possible, subjects were each asked to choose a certain topic about which they could speak as freely and emotionally as possible. (Since anonymity was guaranteed, American foreign policy was a popular topic). They were to think only about these topics while completing my sentences as rapidly as possible. If they hesitated before answering, I would withhold the particular question for later.[53] In no case were they to use any language that did not seem completely natural to them. They were asked specifically to leave unanswered cues that they would not ordinarily use.

Almost all of the subjects spoke naturally, although the lengths of the individual interviews varied to a surprising degree. After all 60 interviews were completed, the tapes were given to a secretary who transcribed them.[54]

Preparation of Materials

Because of the large number of structures dealt with in the directed interviews, the information gathered about each subject and his use of possible subjunctive structures was put on IBM cards. The following code numbers were used: ID numbers of interviewees 1 to 60 (columns 1 and 2); 1 for Paris, 2 for Province, 3 for outside France as subject's birth places (column 3); Male 1, Female 2 (column 4); Age Groups: 1-25 or under, 2 - 26 to 35, 3 - 36 and over (column 5); Education: 1 - up to 12 years of schooling, 2 - beyond 12 years (past baccalaureate), 3 - teaching or frequent public speaking (column 6). Since there were only 70 places for individual structures on each card and 116 structures, two cards were used for each subject and the card number, either 1 or 2, indicated in column 7. Each card contained the following information:

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[53] The stimuli were not presented in any logical order and no order once established was maintained. Individual cues had been put on index cards which could be shuffled at will.

[54] Two sample interviews are included in the appexdixes.

1-2	Interviewee's ID number	
3	Place of origin	1, 2, or 3
4	Sex	1 or 2
5	Age groups	1, 2, or 3
6	Education	1, 2, or 3
7	Card number	1 or 2
8-9	Left out	
10-80	Correspond to particular structures	

(10-56 on Card 2)

Response Code:

Present subjunctive	1
Past subjunctive	2
Imperfect subjunctive	3
Non-distinctive form	4
Infinitive	5
Conditional	6
Indicative	7
Noun structures	8
Structure rejected[55]	9

Code number 4 seemed the greatest hindrance to conclusive results, since my purpose was to determine whether certain structures called for the subjunctive, the indicative, the infinitive, the conditional or a noun construction or whether the speaker avoided the structure altogether. When we deal with non-recognizable morphology, the most important distinction, that between indicative and subjunctive is lost. An attempt was made to regain as many non-distinctive forms as possible by grouping similar structures and then assuming that if the subjunctive had been used by the same speaker in one member of the group, that if he used a non-distinctive form in another member of the same group of linguistic structures, he meant to use the subjunctive; if he used the indicative, the non-distinctive form can be interpreted as an indicative. Thus _il est fréquent_, and _il n'est pas rare_ were placed far enough apart in the interviews so that the speaker who might have responded "il est fréquent que je parle à mes amis" had the opportunity of answering "il n'est pas rare que j'aille un match" or "...que je vais au match." In the former case parle can be interpreted as a subjunctive and in the latter as an indicative. When there are groups of three or four as in il est possible, il se peut, il n'est pas impossible, the subject might have used a non-distinction form once, clearly the subjunctive the second time, and clearly the indicative the third time, thus showing that in this particular group of structures his personal habits of usage are not firmly established. I am inclined to think that if a cue is followed with a certain consistency by non-distinctive forms, there is about this particular usage an element of indecision on the part of certain speakers, which they might subconsciously try to hide.

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[55] If the interviewee did not respond readily to a certain cue after having been given two opportunities to do so, I assumed that the structure concerned was not part of his regular vocabulary.

Each of the following groups of structures was assumed to contain cues of almost identical meaning:

Il faut que - il fallait - il faudra - il a fallu - il faudrait - il est indispensable.

Que voulez vous - vous avez désiré - vous ne voulez pas - est-ce que vous voudriez? - on aimerait.

Je préfère - il vaut mieux - on peut craindre - vous redoutez.

Vous regrettez - c'est dommage.

Vous trouvez inconcevable - vous êtes atterré à l'idée que.

Il est assez étrange - vous vous étonnez - vous seriez étonné.

Les Allemands veulent éviter - il faut éviter.

Il paraît exclu - il est exclu - il est impossible.

Vous pouvez nier - je ne dis pas - il n'est pas vrai.

Vous êtes persuadé? - est-ce que je suis sûr?

Vous pouvez imaginer - on conçoit.

Il est possible - il se peut - il n'est pas impossible.

Il est fréquent - il n'est pas rare.

Comment se fail-il? - est-il mormal.

Est-ce que je pense? - vous pensez?

Est-ce que je suis sûr? - vous êtes persuadé.

Il n'est pas sûr - il paraît peu probable.

Vous doutez fort - il est douteux.

Supposez - à supposer que.

Je suis sûr - vous ne doutez pas - je suis persuadé - il n'y a pas de doute - il est certain.

De façon que - en sorte que.

En attendant que - avant que.

Bien que - quoique - encore que.

Pour que - afin que.

A condition que - pourvu que - en admettant que.

On cherche un chant que - on s'efforce de découvrir une voie que - je voudrais trouver une servante à qui - on a besoin d'un emplacement où.

Qu'il s'agisse de la zone, ou du tunnel - qu'elle le veuille ou non.

Quoi que - quelque...que.

Aussi...que - si...que.

After as many non-distinctive forms as possible had been eliminated, a program was written for the use of the information in an IBM 360 Computer System.

Additional Studies - Questionnaires

In addition to the control features that were an integral part of the directed interviews, I felt a need for further testing of the validity of the procedures and results of my studies. For this purpose, I made up a list of 73 structures in which I sometimes used, sometimes did not use, the subjunctive in situations that would ordinarily call for it. The same was done for structures normally followed by the indicative. A

French member of my staff recorded these sentences on tape and I prepared a check sheet with 73 spaces [56] in which the interviewees were to single out those structures that sounded incorrect or strange to them. This information was used on 30 of the people interviewed. By concentrating on a few key structures[57], and comparing them with equivalents from the directed interviews, a determination could be made of whether subjects answered consistently during their interviews and whether the method of using cues and responses made for valid interviewing procedures. Reactions of the subjects to certain selected structures[58] could also throw some additional light on the acceptance or non-acceptance of some contested uses of the subjunctive.

Allied Studies

Two other allied studies were undertaken, with the purpose of showing the relative frequency of distinctive and non-distinctive verb forms. The first one was concerned with the frequencies of verbs which show 2, 5, or 6 distinctive forms of the subjunctive[59]; the other with frequencies of grammatical persons in finite verb forms.[60]

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[56] A list of the sentences and a check sheet are included in the appendixes.

[57] Subjunctives expected and used: "Il faut que mous fassions attention en classe". "Il se peut que je me sois trompé." "Il n'y a personne qui puisse vous aider." Indicatives expected and used: "Je vous ai écrit parce que votre mère est malade." "Je vous parlerai puisque vous êtes là." "Je vous verrai quand vous pourrez venir." Subjunctives expected and not used: "Je vous parlerai bien que vous êtes en retard." "Je voudrais bien que vous venez." "Il faut que son mari fait la vaisselle." Indicatives expected and not used: "Il croit qu'il aille pleuvoir." "Il n'y a aucun doute qu'elle mette son manteau neuf." "Aprés que nous arrivions, j'ai besoin de vous parler."

[58] These uses (*il faut* and *bien que* with the indicative; *souhaiter* with the conditional or the indicative; *il est vrai*, *espérer*, *croire*, *après que* and *il n'y a aucun doute* with the subjunctive) are tested as a part of the directed interviews also.

[59] From the verbs listed in *Le Français Fondamental* (*1er Degré*).

[60] From VI, VII and X of the non-directed interviews.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Although I consider the analysis of the directed interviews the most important part of this study, I shall examine individually the various methods used and then treat them with their results or lack of results in the same order as in the preceding chapter.

Newspapers and Magazines

In the 620,421 running words examined, there were 52,139 finite verb forms, 18,815 dependent constructions and 990 certain uses of the subjunctive[61] in these clauses. Thus 5.26% of the dependent verb forms were in the subjunctive.[62] The infrequent occurrences of the subjunctive in principal and independent clauses were not counted.

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[61] Only distinctive forms of the subjunctive (e.g. que je parte, que nous partions, but not qu'ils partent) were counted.

[62] The following calculations were made to determine with 95% certainty (according to the Binomial Theorem), the limits of the use of the subjunctive in journalistic French: If we call p the sample proportion, σ_p the standard deviation of the sample proportion and n the number of items in the sample, we find the deviation of the sample proportion by the following formula:

$$\sigma_p = \sqrt{\frac{p\,(1-p)}{n}} \qquad \text{Thus } \sigma_p = \sqrt{\frac{(.0526)(.9474)}{18{,}815}} = \sigma_p =$$

1.63×10^{-3}

If we call Π the true population proportion, we find the 95% confindence interval by the following calculations:

$$p - 1.96\,\sigma_p < \Pi < p + 1.96\,\sigma_p;$$

$$.0526 - (1.96)(1.63 \times 10^{-3}) < \pi < .0526(1.96)(1.63 \times 10^{-3})$$

$$.0494 < \pi < .0558$$

This means that in journalistic French we can be 95% confident that no fewer than 4.94% and no more than 5.58% of the dependent constructions will be in the subjunctive.

Non-Directed Interviews

These interviews contained 57,514 running words, 6,672 finite verb forms, 2,063 dependent constructions, with 119 subjunctives.[63] Thus the subjunctive was used in 5.75% of the dependent constructions.[64]

Prepared Lectures

Since there were very few subjunctives in the taped lectures and university courses examined, this feature of the study did not lead to any significant findings. The number of subjunctives in individual major grammatical categories did show a correlation with parallel numbers obtained from the news media and non-directed interviews.

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[63] This figure includes neither non-distinctive forms nor the use of the subjunctive in principal and independent clauses.

[64] The following calculations were made to determine with 95% certainty the percentage of dependent constructions and subjunctives in this sample. Standard deviation:

$$\sigma_p = \sqrt{\frac{p - (1 - p)}{n}}$$

$$\sigma_p = \sqrt{\frac{(.0575)(1 - .0575)}{2.063}}$$

$$\sigma_p = 5.12 \times 10^{-3}$$

Limits of the interval:

$$p - 1.96\,\sigma_p < \pi < p\ 1.96\,\sigma_p$$

$$.0575 - (1.96)(5.12 \times 10^{-3}) < \pi < .0575\ \ (1.96)(5.12 \times 10^{-3})$$

$$.0475 < \pi < .0675$$

Thus we can predict with 95% certainty that no fewer than 4.75% and no more than 6.75% of the dependent constructions in spoken French will be in the subjunctive.

	Non-Directed Interviews	Prepared Lectures	News Media
Subjunctive in Noun Clauses	64(54%)	19(61%)	560(56%)
Subjunctive in Adverbial Clauses	44(36%)	11(35%)	338(34%)
Subjunctive in Adjectival Clauses	11(10%)	1(4%)	92(10%)

Directed Interviews

In these interviews 60 subjects were each given 118 opportunities to use the subjunctive. In 7,080 individual choices thus established, they chose distinctive forms of the subjunctive 2,676 times. Here is an analysis of the processed data.[65]

The 50 Most Frequent Stimuli to Subjunctive Usage and Their Stability

The following stimuli were used with the subjunctive most frequently and with a minimum of hesitation by the subjects interviewed. They seem to constitute the most firmly established subjunctive usage.

Rank[66]	Stimulus	Frequency[67]	Stability[68]
1	Que voulez vous...?	52	96

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[65] Complete records of all uses including a break-down by individual stimuli were kept by the author and can be examined upon request.

[66] Rank is determined here by frequency within the sample. Only 2 stimuli (avant que and à condition que) in the first 30 would change significantly in place if the list were based on stability.

[67] Within the context of the 60 directed interviews.

[68] "Stability" in this study, will refer to the proportion between the frequency (number of uses within the sample) of a mood and the corrected sample (60 or multiples of 60 minus the number of rejected uses). The first stimulus listed was followed by the subjunctive 52 times; 6 interviewees rejected its use. Therefore its stability is $\frac{52 \times 100}{54} = 96$

Rank	Stimulus	Frequency	Stability
2	quoique...	51	91[69]
3	pourvu que...	51	89
4	il est possible	50	88
5	pour que...	48	87
6	il se peut...	47	97
7	comment se fait-il...?	47	85
8	il a fallu...	47	84[70]
9	bien que	47	94[71]
10	il est étrange	46	79[72]
11	on cherche... que...	44	81
12	c'est dommage...	44	77
13	il n'est pas impossible...	43	75
14	supposez	43	77
15	avant que	43	86

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[69] *Quoique* (and *bien que*) were much less frequent than *pour que* in the non-directed interviews. For the latter there were relatively many replacement possibilities by using *pour*.

[70] The combined stability for the 5 uses of the verb *falloir* was only 60. There were no uses of the indicative.

[71] There were no uses of the indicative.

[72] Basic patterns for the first 10 most frequent structures could follow each of these sentences: Que voulez-vous que je fasse? - Je l'aime bien quoiqu'il ne soit pas venu. - ...pourvu qu'il puisse rêver. - il est possible qu'il fasse beau demain. - Qu'est-ce que je peux faire pour qu'il admette la vérité? - Il se peut qu'elle soit en retard. - Comment se fait-il que vous ne fassiez rien? - Il a fallu qu'elle lui dise tout. - Je suis pour bien que vous soyez contre. - Il est étrange qu'il ne soit pas resté. See appendixes for sample drills.

Rank	Stimulus	Frequency	Stability
16	c'est le meilleur...qui	43	78
17	il paraît peu probable	42	78
18	il faut	42	71
19	est-il normal	41	75
20	il faudrait	40	70
21	vous trouvez inconcevable	39	74
22	à condition que	39	91
23	en admettant que	39	87
24	c'est le seul...qui	39	75
25	c'est un des rares...qui	38	67
26	il faudra	38	65
27	il n'y a rien	37	65
28	il n'est pas sûr	36	68
29	on aimerait	35	61
30	à moins que	34	67
31	je voudrais trouver...qui	34	59
32	à supposer que...	32	92
33	sans que...	32	88
34	vous redoutez...	32	62
35	vous vous étonnez...	31	59
36	il est indispensable...	31	57
37	on peut craindre...	31	54
38	il qui importe c'est...	30	62
39	il est douteux...	30	66
40	vous doutez fort...	30	58
41	ce n'est pas que...	29	64
42	afin que...	29	85
43	il n'est pas vrai...	28	56
44	où que...	28	100
45	vous regrettez...	28	49
46	pour peu que...	27	87
47	on s'efforce de trouver...que	27	53
48	jusqu'à ce que...	27	54
49	pour autant que...	26	86
50	en attendant que...	26	72

These stimuli could form a basis for the order in which uses of the subjunctive are to be taught to beginning students both for methods in which grammatical organization is used and those where language is treated exclusively as an ensemble of many structures. It can be observed that the first group (of

10) already contains most of the major stimuli of subjunctive usage, i.e.[73], verbs of desire, necessity, possibility and emotion and conjunctions of concession[74], condition and purpose. Antecedents to adjectival clauses are absent from the first group although "je cherche...qui..." ranks first in the second group.

Subjunctive Usage by Grammatical Categories

Noun Clauses

Negative Declarative Verbs

The incidence of subjunctive and non-subjunctive finite verb forms was tested for the ensemble of all negative, declarative verbs that were a part of this study. The stability (266 out of 705 possible uses) was found to be 37.7. The combined stability for indicative and conditional uses (120 out of a possible 705) was 17.

While subjunctive usage in sentences of this type (je ne dis pas...il faut éviter... on n'admet pas... vous pouvez nier... etc.) is considerably more stable than combined indicative and conditional usage, its stability is probably not high enough for it to be taught in beginning courses of French.

Interrogative Declarative Verbs

The same incidence was tested for the ensemble of interrogative declarative verbs contained in this study and the stability of subjunctive usage (107 out of 357 possible uses) was 30, while the combined stability for indicatives and conditionals (168 out of a possible 357) was 47. Since the indicative and the conditional are more likely to be used than the subjunctive after stimuli of this type, the statement made in many textbooks that the subjunctive automatically follows interrogative declarative verbs does not hold true for modern usage.

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[73] See the appendixes for a chart of the Traditional Grammatical Categories Eliciting the Subjunctive and Their Most Frequent Stimuli.

[74] See p.41 for another concessive use of the subjunctive (qu'elle soit bête ou intelligente) which should probably be included in the second group.

Impersonal Verbs

The incidence of finite verb forms and infinitives was tested for the ensemble of the following impersonal verb forms: *il est possible*... *il fallait*... *il faudra*... *il faut*... *il a fallu*... *il faudrait*... *il convient*... *il suffit*... *il vaut mieux*... *il est temps*... *il est indispensable*... *il n'est pas impossible*... *il est possible*...; the stability of finite verb forms was found to be 61; that of the infinitive 34. Impersonal structures which are never followed by the infinitive (e.g. *il se peut*) were not included in this group, but those figures show that even where there is a possibility of replacing a finite structure by an infinitive, this replacement is not as likely as the retention of the personal form.

Individual Verbs

A determination was made of the mood following *espérer*, *croire* (in the affirmative) *souhaiter*, *douter*, *il semble*, il est vrai. The stability of indicative usage for *croire* was 70, that for the subjunctive 8. *Douter* showed 62 for the indicative, 20 for the subjunctive. The stability of subjunctive usage for *il semble* was found to be 45, that of indicate usage 34; the conditional was used only once.[75] All uses of *espérer* and all but one of those of *il est vrai* were followed by the indicative. *Souhaiter* always entailed the subjunctive.

Adjectival Clauses

Antecedent in the Superlative

The incidence of subjunctive and non-subjunctive finite verb forms was established for the ensemble of the following antecedents of adjectival clauses: *c'est un des rares joueurs qui*..., *c'est le meilleur joueur qui*..., *c'était la*

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[75] Since there is such uncertainty among native speakers in regard to the modality of this structure (for both *il semble* and *il me semble*), I would recommend that American students be taught simply to use the indicative in this case.

première fois de la saison que..., *c'est le seul véritable avant centre qui*... and the combined stability of the subjunctive was found to be 41, that of the indicative 22.[76]

Unattained Antecedent

The incidence of subjunctive and non-subjunctive finite verb forms following *on va créer un alphabet qui*..., as opposed to the ensemble of *on a besoin d'un emplacement où*..., *je voudrais trouver une servante à qui*..., *on s'efforce de découvrir une voie qui*.., *on cherche un chant qui*... was tested. In the former, the subjunctive was used 15 out of 57 times, that is with a stability of 26, in the latter 127 out of 219 times or with a stability of 58. It was thus shown that the special nuance of reality as expressed by the indicative and irreality as expressed by the subjunctive is distinctly felt for this type of clauses.

Adverbial Clauses

Incidence of Rejection for Certain Types of Concessive Clauses

I had come to realize, while conducting the interviews, that one series of stimuli, those trying to elicit concessive uses of the subjunctive introduced by *que*, *aussi*...*que*, *si*...*que*, *quoi*... *que*, and *quelque*...*que*, were proving far from effective. In order to determine just how ineffective they had been, the proportion of rejection of this structure by the subjects tested was determined and found to be 81.2%. Thus the part of the study dealing with these particular structures cannot be considered as valid. It might be interesting to note that among those conjunctions only the concessive *que* was used relatively frequently in the non-directed interviews (4 times). The others were used only once or not at all.

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[76] *La première fois* was the antecedent least likely to be followed by the subjunctive. Its stability of subjunctive usage was found to be only 10 compared to 62 for the indicative. The other three structures combined showed a stability of 53 for the subjunctive compared to 7 for the indicative. I would recommend, therefore, that *premier* (and *dernier*) not be taught as antecedents to the subjunctive.

Modality of "en sorte que" and "de façon que"

The incidence of subjunctive and non-subjunctive finite verb forms was examined for the sum of these structures and the stability was found to be 67 for subjunctive and 12 for indicative usage. Uses of the conditional were negligible. Since these two structures were rejected by the subjects in 56 of 120 times tested, the validity of the interviewing procedures might also be contestable in these cases.

Modality of "aprés que" and "jusqu'au moment où"

While the stability of the subjunctive was 15 and that of the indicative 85 for aprés que, jusqu'au moment où was followed by the indicative each time.

"De ce que" and "à ce que"

De ce que was used 5 times instead of que(twice with the indicative, 3 times with the subjunctive); à ce que was used 4 times (3 times in de façon à ce que) each time with the subjunctive.[77]

Tenses

Proportion of Subjunctive Tenses

Of 2676 subjunctive structures, the present subjunctive was used 2446 times, i.e. 91.5%, the perfect subjunctive 214 times, i.e. 7.9% and the imperfect 16 times, i.e. 0.6%.[78]

Sequence of Tenses

The proportion of tenses of the subjunctive following il faut, il faudra, il foudrait, il fallait and il a fallu was established in the hope that some correlation could be shown between the tenses of the principal and dependent clauses. The present subjunctive was used almost exclusively. Only

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[77] This information was obtained from the non-processed data.

[78] The pluperfect subjunctive was not used at any time by any interviewee.

il faut (2.4%) and *il faudrait* (2.5%) were occasionally followed by the perfect subjunctive. No imperfects were used.[79]

Control Features

The incidence of subjunctive usage was determined for the ensemble of the following: *Après que*, *j'espère*, *jusqu'au moment où*, *il est certain*, *il est vrai*, *il n'y a pas de doute*, *je suis sûr*, *vous ne doutez pas*, *je suis persuadé*, *vous pouvez affirmer*, *on peut comprendre* and *vous comprenez*,[80] and it was found that in 511 possible uses of the subjunctive that mood occurred 53 times for a stability of 10. This compares with a stability of 71 for the indicative (365 uses). In spite of the fact that it would have been easy for the subjects to fall into a steady pattern of subjunctive usage, they consistently used indicatives when these were to be expected. I like to interpret the above figures to mean that the interviewees were alert and reacted spontaneously and responsively to the cues given them and that the methods and procedures used in this study were valid.

Subjunctive Usage by Subject Group[81]

By Sex

Group	Subjunctives Used	Weighted Distribution	Propensity
I male (24 subjects)	1162	1453	53.7
II female (36 subjects)	1514	1262	46.3

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[79] The cues most frequently followed by the past subjunctive (19 times) were *en sorte que* and *c'est le meilleur...qui*. In the case of the latter the past subjunctive consistently indicated action anterior to the action of the principal clause. In the case of the former, the past subjunctive was used 5 times with a future perfect meaning (*en sorte qu'il soit arrivé en quelques jours*). *Que je doive* and the infinitive (cited by Cohen as a substitute for a future subjunctive) was not used at all.

[80] There were 209 rejections of stimuli.

[81] I decided not to use the geographical information after a cursory examination of the data had shown that 58 of the persons interviewed came from Paris or other large cities.

By Age

Group		Subjunctives Used	Weighted Distribution	Propensity
I	25 or under (22 subjects)	901	819	30.5%
II	26 - 35 (20 subjects)	908	908	33.5%
III	36 or over (18 subjects)	867	959	36.0%

By Education

Group		Subjunctives	Propensity
I	less than 12 years (20 subjects)	956	35.8%
II	more than 12 years (20 subjects)	962	36.0%
III	teacher (20 subjects)	758	28.2%[82]

Additional Studies

Questionnaires

Control Features

The questionnaire items used as control features showed the following results: in 90 places (3 sentences[83] for each of 30 questionnaires) where the subjunctive could be expected and was used, there were only 3 indications of disagreement; in 90 places where the indicative could be expected and was used, there were no indications of disagreement; in 90 places where the subjunctive was to be expected and not used, there were 87 indications of disagreement and in the 90 cases where the indicative was to be expected and the subjunctive used instead, there were 71 cases of disagreement. By reacting to the taped sentences along the same lines as to the interview stimuli, the subjects showed as they had in regard to the other control features that their linguistic habits were well established and that procedures based on their responses to certain stimuli could lead to valid results.

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[82] It is interesting to note that the subjects most accustomed to public speaking used the fewest subjunctives. This coincides with the low incidence of subjunctives for prepared lectures.

[83] See footnote 57, p. 33.

Special Cases

A certain number of subjunctive and indicative structures were examined individually for the interviewees' reaction to them and it was found that bien que with the indicative was rejected by all 30; il est vrai with the subjunctive by 25; espérer with the subjunctive by 25; croire with the subjunctive by 24; souhaiter with the conditional by 29; après que with the subjunctive by 24; il faut with the indicative by 30; il n'y a aucun doute with the subjunctive by 23. In each of these cases, the results of the Directed Interviews were born out by this analysis of the questionnaires.

Allied Studies

Since only distinctive subjunctive forms were counted throughout the study, it would have been interesting to determine the proportion between distinctive and non-distinctive forms for the most frequent verbs. This proportion would have been easy to determine had figures been available for the frequencies of verbs having non-distinctive forms, and the relative frequencies of the verb-persons in which those forms occur. I was able to obtain satisfactory figures only for the first of these items. Since a thorough study of the other was beyond my possibilities at this time, I had to content myself with a very limited examination of data obtained from this project.

Français Fondamental

The following figures were taken from the Français Fondamental Premier Degré: The original verbs in the Français Fondamental were studied and divided into three groups, those where the present subjunctive has a form distinctive from the present indicative in two persons, in five persons, and in all six persons. In the first group, verbs with a cumulative range of 5,143 occurred 12,161 times. In the second group the combined range was 2,832 and the frequency 10,921. The few verbs of the third group with a combined range of 1,319 had a frequency of 34,005.

Non-Directed Interviews

Three of the non-directed interviews were broken down into different persons. Interview VI showed that of 1,020 finite verb forms, 250 were first person singular, 515 in the third person singular, 3 in the first person plural, 110 in the second person plural, 142 in the third person plural. In Interview VII, of 1352 finite verb forms, 200 were in the first person singular, 700 in the third person singular, 25 in the first person plural, 127 in the second person plural and 310 in the third person plural. In Interview X, of 338 finite verbs, 7 were in the first person singular, 221 in the third person singular, 3 in the first person plural, 9 in the second person plural, and 98 in the third person plural. The combined interviews showed 457 in the first person singular, 1436 in the third person singular, 31 in the first person plural, and 246 in the second person plural; 550 were in the third person plural. There were no cases of the second person singular.

The only conclusion to be drawn from these far from satisfactory figures is of a negative nature: the subjunctive usage is not an iceberg with a huge portion of non-distinctive forms hidden in the ocean of the French language.[84] It is more likely that recognizable uses of the subjunctive are much more numerous than non-recognizable ones.

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[84] Non-distinctive forms (response code no. 4) had constituted, before 191 of their number were assimilated, 29.9% (619 out of 2485) of distinctive subjunctives in the directed interviews.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

I believe to have shown in this study that the subjunctive is very much alive in dependent clauses of spoken French. Although I concentrated on forms that definitely are subjunctives[85], I found that subjunctive usage constituted a relatively small but important and meaningful element of the dependent constructions examined in news media and non-directed interviews. When analyzing the results of the directed interviews, I added a new factor to more general considerations of frequency, the factor of "stability", measuring consistency within the range of possibilities tested for each stimulus.

By using sometimes this factor, sometimes general considerations of frequency, I arrived at the following specific conclusions: subjunctive usage is most frequent and stable in noun-clauses after verbs of desire, possibility, necessity, emotion and doubt; in adjectival clauses the stability of the subjunctive is highest after conjunctions of concession, purpose, condition and time.[86] All of these uses are so stable that they constitute pure cases of grammatical servitude.

The subjunctive is less frequent and less stable where nuances of meaning enter into consideration. Where the speaker has a choice between expressing reality or irreality, existance or non-existance, the obtainable or the already obtained, as in most adjectival clauses and in the cases of de façon que or en sorte que, usage is far from stable. It was one of the weaknesses of this study that it could not always be determined whether the lack of stability of certain structures was due entirely to the choice made by the individual speaker or to the fact that many speakers simply do not see such a choice. In the one case where I was able to make this determination, that of the unattained object, such a choice had clearly been made by most of the persons interviewed.

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[85] Non-distinctive subjunctive forms were not considered at all in the analysis of news media, non-directed interviews and prepared lectures. As many of the ones contained in the directed interviews as proved feasible were assimilated into subjunctive usage before the analysis of those materials.

[86] This does not include après que.

The study showed that only the present and the perfect (past) subjunctive are still alive, that there is no sequence of tenses in modern spoken French, but that the past subjunctive can express both anterior and future actions, thus sometimes taking the place of a non-existing future-perfect subjunctive.

There were other somewhat negative discoveries. The subjunctive was used slightly less frequently by the female native informants than by their male colleagues. If we accept Vougelas' maxim that the best indications of usage are found in the "bouche sucrée" of the ladies, this coupled with the facts that those accustomed to public speaking did not use the subjunctive as frequently as the less educated interviewees and that the young used fewer subjunctives than the older subjects, might indicate a possible decline of subjunctive usage. The findings that the subjunctive was far from stable after negative declarative verbs and even less so after interrogative verbs of the same category might point in the same direction.

Not very surprisingly, considering the composition of the group interviewed, there was general rejection of subjunctive use after declarative verbs in the affirmative and after falloir, il est vrai and espérer. There were only few cases of subjunctives after après que and few replacements of que by à ce que or de ce que followed by the indicative, although such uses had been observed by linguists and interpreted respectively as proof of the vitality or decadence of the subjunctive mood. There seemed to be no important inroads by the infinitive into subjunctive usage.

Recommendations

The subjunctive should be taught in beginning, intermediate and advanced course of French. In all of these it should be presented meaningfully, as the part of the living language that it constitutes. Its forms and uses should be presented gradually and similarities to other forms and uses, not differences from them, should be stressed in beginning courses.

Thus students who see no equivalent to this mood in their own language will be psychologically prepared when the more difficult aspects of subjunctive usage are taken up.

Those uses of the subjunctive that are frequent and stable and based on grammatical servitude should be taught in the first years, when structures can be presented according to grammatical categories with emphasis on the most frequent stimulus in each category[87] or according to the individual frequencies or stabilities of their stimuli (interspaced with other materials of the course). Finer nuances of subjunctive usage might be left for the second or even the third year of study..

The imperfect and pluperfect subjunctives should be taught late if at all. No colloquial uses of this mood need to be presented.

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[87] See appendixes for Traditional Grammatical Categories...

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS

It might be useful for those who want to do further research on the subjunctive mood to have the following bibliographical information available to them: (1) a chronology of some early works dealing more or less extensively with the subjunctive; (2) a subjective evaluation of contemporary theories about the subjunctive; (3) a list of books consulted in reference to this study; (4) a list of articles consulted; (5) a list of statistical works on the subjunctive not consulted by me, taken mainly from Guiraud's *Bibliographie critique de la statistique linguistique*. No footnotes will be used in (1) and (2) since (3) and (4), following immediately, supply the necessary bibliographical data.

Chronology of Pre-twentieth Century Works

The first grammarians of the French language, of whom Palsgrave and Du Guez are among the most prominent, were not particularly interested in the problem per se. Palsgrave does mention the existence of an optative in independent clauses and a subjunctive in dependent clauses introduced by *que*, in cases where English uses *would*, *should*, *could*, *ought*, *might*, *would have*, *should have*, *could have*, etc. It is also used following certain other conjunctions. Du Guez also speaks of an optative and a subjunctive which he also calls conjunctive. Vaugelas, the observer of usage, in his grammatical remarks based on isolated examples, is not concerned with the subjunctive or other subtleties of the language. Condillac, in his *Treatise for the Prince of Parma*, describes the subjunctive as a subordinate mood, while Du Marsais stresses the inconclusive qualities of the subjunctive. Alexander Boniface sees in the subjunctive a vague, impartial quality which is its uniting factor. It might be useful to single out Arnaud et Lancelot, *Grammaire de Port Royal* as one of the first attempts at a descriptive approach (to the subjunctive) although this opus is mainly devoted to the subjunctive in independent clauses.

An important group of German linguists became interested in the subjunctive in general and that in Romance languages in particular in the nineteenth century. Diez with his *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* inspired Delbrück to investigate this mood in Sanscrit, Greek, and Indo-Germanic. Delbrück (in *Vergleicheude Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*) attributes to it two basic meanings, will and waiting on the one hand and desire on the other, to which Brugmann (*Grundriss der Vergleichenden*

Grammatik) adds a "deliberative" element. Gille (*Der Konjunktiv im Französischen*) describes a subjunctive of desire and one of uncertainty. Clédat (*Grammaire classique*) lets the subjunctive express doubt, surprise or volition.

Tanase lists the following nineteenth century doctoral disertations about the subjunctive: Loiseau, A. *De modo subjunctivo*, (dealing with Greek, Latin and French); Bischoff, Fr. *Der Conjunctiv bei Chrestien von Troyes*; Quiel, K. *Der Gebrauch des Konjuktivs in den ältesten französischen Sprachdenkmälern bis zum Rolandslied einschliesslich*, (stressing the importance of the subjunctive in principal clauses which proves that this mood has a meaning of its own (not determined by other verbs); Kowalski, R. *Der Conjunctiv bey Wace*; Busse, G. *Der Conjunctiv im altfranzösischen Volksepos*; Schnellenbächer, K. *Uber den syntaktischen Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in den Chansons de Geste*: *Huon de Bordeaux*; Philp, H. *Le subjonctif et les grammairiens français du XVI siècle*.

Abstracts of Contemporary Theories about the Subjunctive

In the twentieth century many French linguists, stimulated by the increasing involvement with psychology and by influential teachers like de Saussure began to regard the subjunctive as expressing feeling and ideas. Others saw in this mood little beyond grammatical practices perpetuated by tradition and prescriptiveness without any understanding of its origins. Still others saw themselves only as observers and not arbiters or interpreters of usage. I agree thoroughly with Moigget when he says that everyone finds what he brings to the intellectual market place, the psychologist his subtlety, the logician his rationalism, the grammarian his concern for the mechanical, the sentimentalist his transports ("élans"), the prudent his uncertainties, the daring his contradictions. Every thesis contains without a doubt a particle of truth. None solves the whole problem.

I have a tendency to lean toward descriptive grammarians since with them my uncertainties go unchallenged though largely unresolved. I am ready to accept the "esclavage grammatical" theory of Ferdinanc Brunot, as do his successors. Charles Bruneau, Galichet, and others. But even Brunot does not apply this theory to all uses of the subjunctive. He states that the possibility of choice between moods constitutes a means of distinguishing between thoughts (distinction de la pensée) and, obviously considering pure description insufficient, offers many psychological explanations. Galichet distinguishes between two moods, "real" and "eventual", but basically accepts the fact that the subjunctive is a series of forms used according to habit and tradition. Charles Bruneau, in many conversations with me, indicated that speakers of the language saw a need for using the indicative whenever the reality of their utterings was evident. Grevisse's grammar, an almost pure observation of usage, also includes psychological explanations when these seem necessary to him. The Danish historical grammarian Nyrop includes a well organized description of the subjunctive in his work. The most recent, most useful, most detailed treatment of the subjunctive in today's French is contained in Marcel Cohen's *Le subjonctif en français contemporain* which I used extensively. Sandfield, concentrating - very logically - on subordinate usage and Gougenheim, in some respects a follower of de Saussure, are other prominent linguists to approach the subjunctive descriptively. I also treated the problem descriptively and comparatively in my doctor's dissertation. Van der Molen, Frei, and Bauche deal descriptively and empirically with the subjunctive in the spoken language, mainly the language of certain uneducated groups.

Damourette and Pichon while also dealing with the spoken language to some extent - 2900 of their 34,000 examples are taken from oral interviews - take a psychological and sometimes obscure approach to the French language. They include a very thorough study of the subjunctive, the "moeuf", the mood of non-judgement. Wartburg-Zumthor, two psychologically oriented Swiss scholars, deal mainly with the subjunctive in independent and principal clauses. Tanase, in his detailed, but rather inconclusive dissertation, tries to explain the whole problem of the subjunctive by a differentiation between the principle of non-existence (in the older language) and that of not-yet existence (in modern French). He does add one "uncertain, indefinable" aspect of the subjunctive and one that is simply an "opposé stylistique" of the indicative. G. and R. LeBidois are thoroughly opposed to Brunot's theory of grammatical servitude. To them the subjunctive is the mood of psychic energy "expressing directly the strongest and finest vibrations of the soul". They romanticize it into the mood of moods because in it they see possibilities for nuances that the rest of the language is incapable of expressing. (They are severely attacked by Galichet for their psychological approach.) A psycho-linguist of Dutch nationality, De Boer, regards grammatical subordination as a purely psychological phenomenon rather than a question of style. He also offers diachronic explanations. According to him the subjunctive in subordinate clauses does not derive from the optative. Expressing only potentiality in the beginning, the mood changed to an indication of wish or desire in principal clauses and to one of psychological subordination in subordinate clauses. The French subjunctive, according to De Boer, is employed much more logically than its predecessor in Latin where the use was mechanical, especially in consecutive clauses.

A whole group of German linguists concern themselves with the modality of the French language. It is remarkable how many non-French scholars try to solve this problem by searching for a psychological common denominator. (Could this be because they are more optimistic about the logic of the fine nuances of the French language than are their native colleagues?)

Vossler calls the subjunctive the mood of the psychological subject. According to him the subjunctive following verbs expressing a "movement of the soul" is selected due to the influence of Descartes who characterized (in his Traité des Passions) the movements of the soul as alterations of pure reason. Vossler tries to simplify the problem by accepting the interplay of a psychological subject, which constitutes the facts already known to the listener, and a psychological predicate, expressing a new fact, as almost the only explanation of the subjunctive. Unfortunately, he leaves out or gives scant treatment to what does not suit his theory. Lerch accepts Vossler's subjunctive of the psychological subject as his common denominator of subjunctive usage but he states that the subjunctive is also used in cases where que and the verb precede the principal clause and after verbs of speech, thought, and perception if they are in the negative, interrogative, or conditional. On the other hand "Je me réjouis qu'il soit venu" and "Je crois qu'il est venu" have the same psychological basis, but in the indicative the reality of action is predominant. While Lerch tries to avoid the element of uncertainty as a basis for subjunctive usage, Soltmann explains the subjunctive mainly as the mood of the uncertain. He even attributes this element to verbs of emotion since in their case a lack of assuredness, an uncertainty, is carried over from the principal to the subordinate clause. For Kalepky, who generally shares De Boer's ideas, the subjunctive is an abstraction of the element of reality.

A scholar, who seems to have divided all his time between teaching in a German secondary school in a Czech provincial town (Brno) and thinking and writing about the French subjunctive, is Moritz Regula. He states his opinions with such conviction that he antagonizes other linguists particularly Kalepky, who wrote several articles trying to refute Regula's theory, and De Boer, who calls Regula's hobbyhorse of "psycho-dynamics", pseudo-dynamics. Regula's thesis rests on what he calls "die Erfassungsart der satzförmigen Objective" (the manner of seizing the objectives in subordinate form). Either the objective may be conceived dynamically, thus establishing a link to reality through judgement, volition, supposition and interrogation, or it is only "envisaged" and (1) represents the psychological subject (2) is stripped of all "existence" (je ne veux pas, je ne crois pas, croyez-vous?, voulez-vous?) (3) includes the semantic component of the "psychological predicate" (Je veux qu'il parte, je crains...). The envisaged objective is adynamic (non-energetic) since it does not take a stand on the existence of reality.

A very influential French linguist is G. Guillaume to whom the time (or tense) aspect of the verb is of the utmost importance. The subjunctive takes its place in the description of "temps" between the non-personal moods (infinitive and partitive) and the indicative, mainly because it knows no differentiation between the present and the future. The subjunctive is used when our instinct tells us that the indicative is impossible. Guillaume left his mark on many present-day grammarians especially Imbs and Moignet, who wrote studies exclusively devoted to the subjunctive. Imb's work is useful and interesting though difficult to consult, since it suffers from a certain lack of organization. Another weakness is in the fact that his examples are not drawn from recent French, although he attaches great importance to intonation, particularly in the cases where the dependent clause precedes the principal one. Moignet, aside from the historical aspect of his study, in which he applies Guillaume's theories to the older language, provides us with an excellent history of the subjunctive. To him que introduces the last period of thought movement going from supposition to position. If the thought is formulated before the point where it signifies position, the subjunctive is used, beyond that point, the indicative.

Semanticists, especially de Saussure, and much later, Ullmann, have made their influence felt. According to Saussure, language is a system. It is form and not substance, actually an equilibrium of non-substantial elements. Knowledge of each fraction of the system implies knowledge of all the rest. Saussure's followers deplore the tendency of other linguists to pile example on example (especially since in largely empirical studies they themselves choose the examples). Applying their theories to the subjunctive, Bally and Sechehaye find that this mood is in pronounced regression. Togeby, more recently, divides all elements of language into syntagmic units. By stressing the importance of their frequency of use, he implicitly belittles the importance of the subjunctive, compared to the other moods. According to him, every structure has inherent, immanent, qualities and therefore does not depend on others. Obviously, explanations of subjunctive usage do not fit his theories. Dubois, who applies some quantitive theories to his studies of the noun and pronoun and whose volume on the verb I awaited with impatience, contributes practically nothing to the study of the subjunctive.

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APPENDIXES

Non-directed interviews

Portion of Interview VI

...

R. Oui, il y en a incontestablement dans toutes les langues, je pense. J'ai trouvé quelque chose mias je ne m'en rappelle plus encore. J'ai cherché partout pour trouver cette expression.

Q. Si, malgré tout, une guerre mondiale éclatait, pensez-vous que la France pourrait techniquement se tenir en dehors du conflit? Je sais ce que dit de Gaulle, mais...

R. Ca dépend où elle éclate. Si elle éclate en Asie, par exemple, je pense qu'on a pas mal de chances de se tenir à l'écart.

Q. Mais si c'est mondial?

R. Oh, si c'est mondial il faut quand même qu'on parte d'un certain...

Q. Si la Russie intervient....? l'Angleterre...

R. Je ne pense pas que la Russie s'attaquerait à l'Europe de l'Ouest, si les Etats-Unis ne....

Q. Vous ne pensez pas que...je ne comprends pas.

R. Je ne pense pas que la Russie, par exemple en cas de guerre atomique enverrait des bombes atomiques sur l'Europe de l'Ouest. Ils essaieraient plutôt de la prendre par d'autres maneuvres certainement, par des maneuvres plus politiques.

Q. Et, vous croyez que la France pourrait rester dehors?... se tenir...

R. Ce serait très difficile.

Q. Est-ce que la possession d'armes atomiques par un nombre de plus en plus grand d'états accroîtrait les risques d'une guerre générale? d'une conflagration générale?

R. Oui, incontestablement, il n'y a pas de doute. Surtout par certains pays, je pense qui ont des problèmes vitaux comme par exemple l'Inde qui par exemple est capable actuellement d'avoir sa propre bombe atomique. Elle serait très tentée, je suppose de l'utiliser.

Q. Contre le Pakistan?

R. Le Pakistan, peut-être, ou la Chine.

Q. La Chine, je ne crois pas.

R. Je ne crois pas mais contre le Pakistan, je crois, c'est possible, hélas!

Q. Pensez-vous que dans un monde où de nombreux petits pays auraient des armes nucléaires, l'un d'eux pourrait, dans une situation donnée lancer une attaque clandestine contre l'un des deux grands...déclencher ses foudres sur l'autre et provoquer un conflit mondial, en quelque sorte, par accident?

R. Oui, je pense que c'est possible. Mais enfin, d'autre part, je pense que les Russes et les Américains sont très conscients de ce danger, ont des contacts de plus en plus fréquents, je pense, à ce sujet. ....pour qu'on ne soit pas pris dans l'engrenage. C'est très dangereux parce qu'il y a une question de confiance, bien sûr. Il faut que les Russes croient ce que les Américains disent et vice-versa. Et, évidemment ils ne sont pas tellement tentés de se croire je pense. Il y a toujours la possibilité d'un bluff de la part de l'autre.

Q. J'ai l'impression que Kroutchev était préférable de notre point de vue à ce qui existe maintenant.

R. Peut-être, mais je pense que Breznev et Kossygin sont beaucoup plus constants dansleur politique que l'était Kroutchev. Il y a probablement des choses qu'on ne savait pas qui se passaient dans les coulisses mais, je pense que Kroutchev a eu des réactions très contradictoires sur pas mal de points de vue. En une semaine, il retournait sa veste complètement. C'est une chose que Kossigyn, jusqu'à présent du moins n'a pas encore fait.

Q. Si je vous comprends, si je comprends votre point de vue, que les deux grands sont arrivés à un point d'équilibre où il est peu possible, peu probable qu'il y ait un conflit direct entre eux, pourquoi continuent-ils la course aux armements? les deux?

R. Je pense que c'est une erreur, incontestablement, mais ... . Ils sont pris dans une sorte d'engrenage, je crois et ils ont beaucoup de problèmes à considérer comme les problèmes de la Chine, par exemple et quand les Russes construisent autour de leurs grandes villes un certain silo de fusées pour les protéger, le système anti-ballistique et autre, je pense qu'il n'est pas très facile de savoir contre qui ou pour se protéger de qui ils font cette chose. Je pense qu'ils sont beaucoup plus conscients que n'importe qui de la puissance chinoise.

Q. ... . l'installation d'un système de défense anti-missile par l'un des deux grands romprait l'équilibre en sa faveur, selon votre opinion?

R. Non, je ne pense pas. Ça mènerait à une autre escalade. On a vu pas mal de dessins assez amusants là-dessus: les missiles, anti-missiles, anti, anti, anti...

Q. Dans le même sens, est-ce que vous pensez que face à la Chine qui disposera sans doute dans quelques années d'armes continentales, les grands actuels vont surmonter leur antagonisme et se rapprocher?

R. Je pense qu'ils le feront. Et, je pense justement que l'Europe a un rôle à jouer encore dans ce sens quand je dis l'Europe, je parle de l'Europe de l'Ouest. Je pense qu'elle pourrait être un pont entre la Russie et les Etats-Unis, favoriser ce rapprochement. Mais je pense que ce rapprochement de toute façon est inévitable aussi.

Q. Sans que la Chine puisse rien faire?

R. Non, pas grand chose en tous cas, je pense que la Chine accentuera son influence sur les autres pays d'Asie, incontestablement.

Q. Sur l'Inde, vous croyez?

R. Peut-être sur l'Inde, oui. En passant peut-être par d'autres petits pays comme le Laos, peut-être, comme le Cambodge.

Q. A cette époque, c'est sans doute possible que la Chine ait déja des cadres en Indochine.

R. Oui, c'est non seulement possible, mais c'est vrai. J'ai lu il y a pas très longtemps que les...il y avait déja 2000 Chinois au Nord-Vietnam qui s'occupaient du service civil c'est à dire des trains, de certaines choses. comme ça.

Q. Parlons un peu de l'Inde. Après 20 ans d'indépendence, 15 ans de ce qu'on appelle planification et des milliards d'aide économique, l'Inde est un pays sous-développé au bord de la famine. On a dit que c'était un cas désespéré. Qu'en pensez-vous?

R. Oui, je pense aussi. Je pense que, pour l'Inde, il n'y a qu'un espoir, c'est d'avoir un gouvernement fort. Les seuls gouvernements forts qu'on connaisse sont les gouvernements de droite, ce qui est guère probable; je pense en Inde à des gouvernements communistes. Et, je pense, pour ma part qu'une vingtaine d'années de communisme ne lui feraient pas de mal. Quand on compare les résultats de la Chine et de l'Inde, je pense que il n'y a pas besoin d'explication.

Q. Vous croyez que c'est possible d'avoir une vingtaine d'années de communisme?

R. Oui, je dis ça parceque je pense que l'exemple de la Russie prouve que, à partir d'un certain niveau de vie, à partir d'un certain point que l'économie a atteint, incontestablement il n'y a plus de liberté, on devient moins communiste et on se dirige vers le capitalisme. Moi je vois très bien le communisme pour les pays très très peuplés, surpeuplés. Et, les pauvres. Je pense que c'est une nécessité. Il est inutile et même un peu ridicule, je pense, de parler de liberté, de droit de vôte pour des gens qui ont l'estomac vide.

Q. Et vous croyez que, d'ailleurs, c'est pas votre seule opinion, il y a beaucoup de gens qui pensent, qui sont comme vous, qui ne sont pas communistes et qui pensent comme vous. Je ne suis pas convaincu. C'est peut-être, je ne sais pas, c'est peut être...d'ailleurs, je connais, j'ai un cousin en Russie qui vient de passer quelques semaines aux Etats-Unis, et, c'est peut-être la différence entre les deux pays qui l'a frappé. Mais, selon lui, la vie en Russie est encore terrible.

R. Mais, je suis d'accord, là-dessus, mais, personnellement, je ne suis pas favorable au communisme mais je pense que ce que la Russie a quand même atteint, dans certains points de vue techniques, il est vrai qu'on ne s'est pas privé seulement..., simplement de certaines choses de base comme la nourriture comme les vêtements. Je pense que la Russie avec le système qu'elle avait avant le système des tsars et autres, on serait toujours au même point, à mon avis.

Q. Mais, vous ne croyez pas qu'il y ait, qu'il existe une méthode entre les deux? Vous ne croyez pas que le capitalisme pratiqué aux Etats-Unis soit une possibilité?

R. C'est une possibilité pour un pays qui a déja un certain niveau de vie mais pas pour un pays dans l'état de l'Inde qui est pratiquement au bord de la faillite totale. On pense qu'il y a peut-être 100 millions d'Indiens qui vont mourir dans les prochaines années de famine, sur 400 ou 500 millions. Si les Etats-Unis ne fournissent pas justement tout le blé dont ils ont besoin, tout l'argent qu'ils veulent. Et, c'est indéfini, c'est trop tard pour qu'on aille fournir du blé. Ca va pas changer la moindre des choses! Parce que dans 10 ans il faudra simplement fournir le double de blé parceque la population aura doublé. Je pense qu'il n'y aura absolument aucun progrès de fait. Il n'y a rien dans la base du pays qui change.

Q. Est-ce que vous croyez que l'Inde, avec son sistème actuel fait tous les efforts qu'elle devrait faire pour progresser?

R. Evidemment non, mais justement, on est en train d'essayer de réparer une automobile qui tombe en ruines avec du scotch. C'est ce qu'on fait en Inde, je pense. Alors qu'il faudrait reconsidérer absolument tout, qu'il faudrait revoir tout à la base.

Q. Mais, qu'est-ce que l'Inde doit faire, selon vous, pour atteindre un certain rythme de croissance et pour éviter que les gens y meurent de faim à la prochaine sécheresse?

R. Je pense que la premiere chose, peut-être est de contrôler les naissances. C'est déja une chose assez vitale.

Q. On va parler de ça d'un autre point de vue.

R. C'est pour ça que je pense à un régime totalitaire parcequ' il faut incontestablement une discipline très dure. Toutes ces religions, par exemple qu'il y a en Inde sont des choses très très bien peut-être, vues d'un certain point de vue, mais, elles sont aussi un obstacle formidable et je pense à un certain développement de base au point de vue mourriture, par exemple.

Q. Quand vous parlez de système autoritaire vous ne croyez pas qu'un système militaire, une dictature militaire sera une possibilité comme l'Egypte? la Syrie et..

R. C'est peut-être une possibilité, mais je pense que ce n'est pas souhaitable parce que ce pays ne progressera pas; ça sera exactement comme ce qui passe en Amérique du Sud. C'est la stagnation totale.

Q. Mais, là, vous avez des systèmes de dictature militaire de la droite. Et, en Egypte, en Syrie, en Iraq, on a des systèmes de dictature de la gauche, soi-disant.
R. Oui, soi-disant, mais je ne suis pas du tout convaincu de ça, personnellement, non. Il y a une différence très nette entre une dictature. Je pense que la dictature de gauche n'est pas vraiment une dictature militaire. Elle utilise incontestablement le système policier pour faire respecter ce qu'elle a établi comme loi. Mais, je pense que c'est surtout une prise de possession des esprits, par l'endoctrinement par la propagande, je pense, surtout. C'est ce qui s'est passé àuCuba, c'est ce qui se passe partout.
Q. Et vous souhaiteriez pour l'Inde qu'elle ait un système un peu comme la Russie?
R. Je souhaite, je pense même que c'est la seule façon qu'elle s'en sorte.
Q. Mais si l'Inde actuelle dirige avec persévérance ses efforts dans 3 directions; démographie, agriculture, exportation. Est-ce que vous croyez que, dans l'avenir, assez proche, les habitants pourraient avoir un niveau de vie décent?
R. Non, je pense pas parcequ' enfin, je n'ai pas étudié énormément cette question mais la démographie grimpe à une vitesse formidable alors que par compte....
Q. Même avec le contrôle des naissances?
R. Il faudrait qu'il soit accepté d'abord et justement je pense qu'encore l'avènement d'un régime dur le ferait accepter automatiquement.

List of Subjunctives Classified by Interviews

Interview I
running words 2985 finite verbs 309 dependent clauses 90
subjunctives 5
Vous voulez que je sois d'accord — je ne veux pas...qu'une personne vienne — pour qu'elle puisse... — il n'y a aucune raison pour qu'elle reçoive... — sans que cela aboutisse — aussi adorable soit-elle.

Interview II (4290 rw 405 fv 165 dc 12s)
Je ne dis pas que ce soit vrai — je ne crois pas que la femme doive — je ne crois pas que vous compreniez — je ne suis pas sûr qu'il y ait une manière — il se peut qu'elle n'ait jamais eu l'intention... — il faut qu'il soit propriétaire — il faut qu'il ait du goût — il faut qu'il ait les moyens— vous souhaitez qu'ils fassent — c'est dommage qu'elle soit pas venue — pour qu'il puisse en profiter — le plus simple qui soit.

Interview III (2355rw 297fv 78 dc 5s)
Il faut que vous acceptiez -- il n'y a pas de raison pour qu'ils se fassent -- non pas que je sois un fanatique -- à moins que vous acceptiez -- je n'ai pas découvert l'être qui soit...

Interview IV (2070rw 219fv 72dc 1s)
Que voulez-vous que je vous dise?

Interview V (7320rw 930fv 345dc 6s)
Ils exigent que je sois... -- que voulez-vous que je vous dise -- ils étaient fiers que je sois là -- il faut que je fasse... -- pour que vous compreniez -- pour qu'il se tienne.

Interview VI (8159rw 1020fv 386dc 17s)
Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait deux manières -- je voudrais bien qu'elle soit la juste -- il est peu... probable qu'il y ait un conflit -- c'est sans doute possible que la Chine ait des cadres -- il faudrait qu'il soit accepté -- il faut qu'on parte -- il ne faut pas que nous passions -- ...il serait temps qu'il s'en rende compte -- pour qu'on ne soit pas pris -- ...il est normal...que les Etats-Unis aient une voix -- pour qu'on ne soit pas pris -- trop tard pour qu'on aille -- ...sans que la Chine puisse... -- pas plus qu'il n'y ait de correlation -- les seuls gouvernements forts qu'on connaisse... -- le seul pays qui soit ainsi -- faire castrer tout homme qui ait plus de trois enfants.

Interview VII (10480rw 1362fv 395dc 24s)
Ca m'étonnerait que l'opinion...ait... -- je ne pense pas que ce soit vrai -- je ne pense pas qu'Israël soit menacé -- comment veut-on que le Français s'entende avec l'Allemand -- je veux que vous pensiez -- je voudrais bien que vous pensiez -- il faut qu'elle soit créée -- il se peut qu'on mette -- il se peut qu'on rende -- c'est possible que ça ait changé -- il est vrai que les Français n'aient pas les --c'est pas que ce soit faux -- ce n'est pas qu'il y ait -- avant que le gouvernement parte -- avant qu'il parte -- qu'ils soient amis ou ennemis, c'est la même chose -- que ce soit l'Afrique nouvelle, l'Afrique anglaise ou... -- que ce soit Shell ou la France -- pour quelque société que ce soit -- bien qu'il soit à la solde... -- c'est le seul pays qui ne se soit pas battu -- le seul pays qui ait quelque pensée -- il veut créer une organisation qui le mette... -- ils ont besoin d'un bouc émissaire qui fasse la même chose.

Interview VIII (3280rw 303fv 106dc 7s)
Nul doute qu'il y ait convergence — il est symbolique qu'un pays puisse — quoique le Pacifique les ait touchés — afin que nous puissions acheter des actions — ce besoin de développer un esprit et...qui puissent — il faudrait que ce soit de la reconnaissance — quelles que soient les différences....

Interview IX (2770 rw 250fv 74dc 9s)
J'aurais préféré que nous ayons réservé... — ils souhaitent que leurs filiales soient... — il faut supposer que la population ait quitté — il semble que les Chinois soient revenus — peut-on croire que les Français soient... — imaginez que les hommes aient accordé... — il est dommage que de Gaulle ne puisse croire — à condition que celui-ci provienne — ...je regrette que ce soit....

Interview X (3900rw 338fv 78dc 8s)
Il faudra que nous lui accordions... — je ne suis pas sûr qu'il ne suffise pas — on peut craindre que tout soit remis en question... — pourvu qu'ils soient affectés — pour qu'ils puissent bénéficier — bien que ça soit dit... — que l'Angleterre soit dans le Marché...ou pas — qu'ils soient travaillistes ou conservateurs....

Interview XI (3360rw 292fv 95dc 10s)
Je souhaite qu'il y ait une solution... — je ne crois pas qu'ils soient des compensations — je ne dis pas que l'état n'ait pas existé — il faudrait qu'on se rende compte — empêcher qu'elle se reproduise — pour qu'il atteigne — pour que la Croix apparaisse — pour que l'église fasse son devoir — afin qu'elle apparaisse — pourvu que l'amour nous soutienne.

Interview XII (1800rw 189fv 41dc 6s)
Comment voulez-vous qu'on produise — je ne crois pas que cela dépende de moi — je ne suis pas du tout sûr que vous ayez raison — pour que l'armée soit en évidence — pour que vous pensiez comme moi — après qu'il ait été capturé.

Interview XIII (3400rw 455 fv 119dc 4s)
Il voudrait obtenir qu'elles...soient cultivées distribuées — jusqu'à ce que la mort le prenne — jusqu'à ce que l'embarcation disparaisse — quoi qu'il puisse....

Interview XIV (2000rw 141fv 42dc 3s)
Il semble qu'il s'agisse — imaginez que ces deux se soient mis d'accord — quel dommage qu'elle ait attendu.

Interview XV (2565rw 171fv 27dc 1s)
Il n'y a pas raison pour qu'ils se fassent de concessions.

Portion of Prepared Lecture

Au point de vue strictement linguistique, ce qui caractérise le sujet parlant, c'est l'inertie, la tendance à supprimer les difficultés, à adopter des prononciations plus faciles, à simplifier les systèmes de formes par l'analogie. Les langues arrivent ainsi à se débarrasser des anciennes complications. Deux forces sont en présence: les forces de tradition et les forces de simplification. Ajoutons aussi le besoin d'expressivité, qui crée des nouveautés linguistiques. Les influences qui peuvent agir sur une langue comme le français sont donc extremement complexes.

Le mot de civilisation est un mot dangereux. Il est très délicat de parler des anciennes civilisations et tout-à-fait imprudent de donner des dates, quelles qu'elles soient. On vient de découvrir, à Argenteuil, une allée couverte. Les journaux ont aussitôt donné une date: 2000 ans avant Jésus-Christ. Les archéologues, eux ne savent rien: la sépulture disent-ils, appartient à "l'âge du cuivre". C'est tout ce qu'on peut affirmer scientifiquement. Quant aux linguistes, ils ne peuvent rien tirer de cette découverte. Pour eux, seuls comptent les documents écrits: or, chez les Indo-Européens primitifs, il était interdit de se servir de l'écriture pour des raisons magiques et des motifs de sécurité: l'écriture était considérée comme faisant partie de la personne, au même titre que les cheveux, les ongles, etc. De même qu'on brûlait tres soigneusement les cheveux et les rognures d'ongles, de même on détruisait l'écriture de façon à ce que rien ne tombe entre les mains d'un ennemi qui pouvait utiliser ces choses contre vous, pour un envoûtement en particulier. Des très vieilles civilisations, il ne reste donc à peu près rien. Les textes religieux (les plus anciens que nous possédions) indo-européens, les vedas, les gâthas, sont relativement récents.

Directed Interviews

Interview 58

58, 1, 2, 3, 2
(Only responses were transcribed) Il est assez étrange que Proust soit aussi à la mode en ce moment. Je redoute que cette vogue ne soit de courte durées. Je m'étonne que les jeunes aiment autant Proust. Je suis heureuse de relire tous ces romans que j'ai lu autrefois. On peut craindre qu'il ne pleuve demain. Je regrette de ne pas avoir assez de temps pour beaucoup lire. C'est dommage que le théatre

moderne ne soit pas aussi vivant que le théatre ancien. Je suis déprimée devant le peu de temps qu'il me reste pour lire. Il faudra que je m'organise pour remédier à cela. Il a fallu que je dorme longtemps pour me reposer. Il faut que j'achète un roman demain. Je trouve inconcevable que les hippies fassent tant parler d'eux. Je suis atterrée à l'idée de tous ces jeunes dont les parents s'occupent si peu. Il est indispensable que la jeunesse ait confiance en leur parents. Pour que je réussise à comprendre les Hippies, il faudra que je lise. Pour autant que je le sache, les hippies sont à la mode en France. Bien qu'en France ce soit plus une mode qu'une philosophie. Afin qu'il réussisse son examen, il a beaucoup travaillé. Sans que je sois malade, j'ai mal à la tête. Encore qu'il soit jeune, il est doué. Quoique je dorme toute la nuit, je me lève tôt. Avant que je me sois levée, j'étais fatiguée. Jusqu'à ce qu'il soit arrivé chez moi, il se croyait perdu. En attendant que les hippies soient guéris, il faudra du temps. Ce n'est pas que les traductions manquent, mais elles sont souvent mauvaises. A condition qu'elle soit fidèle, on peut les accepter. Pourvu que Sarraute écrive un autre roman qui soit meilleur que le dernier. A moins qu'il cède à la mode actuelle. En admettant que l'opéra soit bon.... En admettant qu'il soit reçu à son examen., il ira en vacances. On peut faire en sorte que la musique soit acceptée par les jeunes. Pour peu qu'il soit doué, il continuera le violon. De façon qu'il écoute ce disque il lui faut du silence. C'est le pianiste le plus doué que j'aie connu. C'était la première fois de la saison qu'il donnait un concert. C'est le seul véritable pianiste que j'aime. Il n'y a rien qui arrête ce chef d'orchestre. On a besoin d'un emplacement où s'asseoir. Je voudrais trouver une servante à qui confier mon enfant. On s'efforce de découvrir une voie qui soit facile. On va créer un alphabet qui remplace l'ancien. On cherche un chant qui soit juste. C'est la première fois qu'il a compris. Vous pouvez imaginer quelle a été ma joie. C'était le meilleur joueur que le chef d'orchestre ait jamais vu. Il faut éviter de se répéter. Il suffit qu'il soit là. Il convient qu'il vienne ce soir. C'est un des rares joueurs qui joue Faust. La lutte implique qu'il soit jeune. Il n'est pas vrai qu'il a été battu. Il obtient qu'il vienne le matin. Cela explique qu'il soit malade. Il est impossible qu'il soit dernier. Notre but est qu'il soit guéri. Je suis sûre qu'il sera d'accord. Il n'est pas rare qu'il soit absent. Ce n'est pas qu'il soit infidèle. Il est douteux qu'il reste à New York. On n'admet pas qu'il s'en aille. Qui a intérêt à ce qu'il reste? Vous ne pouvez nier qu'il revienne. Je suis persuadée qu'il est tombé. Vous êtes persuadé qu'il va bien? Puis-je envisager qu'il tombe? Vous acceptez qu'il abandonne? Mes idées sur la vie ne permettent pas que je l'accepte. Il est fréquent qu'il m'écoute; Les Allemands veulent éviter qu'ils reviennent. Il paraît peu probable que cela réussisse. Vous pouvez affirmer qu'il ait droit, vous pouvez faire comprendre que je suis tombée. Il est exclu qu'il soit mort. Vous comprenez qu'il vienne? Il faut accepter qu'il tombe. On conçoit que je sois revenue. Il paraît exclu qu'il recommence. Il vaut mieux qu'il le fasse. Il est temps qu'il s'arrête. Le règlement stipule que je parte en vacances. Il suffit que je revienne dans deux semaines. Il n'est pas impossible que je sois arrêtée. Comment se fait-il que la police me cherche? Est-il normal qu'elle revienne? Il est certain que je répète. Est-ce que je suis sûre qu'il m'écrira? Il n'est pas assuré qu'il le fasse. Je ne suis plus très sûre d'habiter New York. Rien n'indique que je revienne à Paris. Ce n'est pas tout de le savoir. Il semble que je reviendrai demain. Il est possible qu'il soit malade. Il n'y a pas de doute que Johnson se représentera. Il n'est pas impossible que Nixon abandonne. Je préfère que Wallace ne vienne pas à New York. Il se peut que Rockefeller passe. Supposez que Bob Kennedy se présente. Vous concevez mal qu'il échoue. Il n'est pas sûr qu'il le fera. Vous ne doutez pas qu'il abandonne. Vous doutez fort qu'il l'accepte. Vous pensez qu'il réussira? Est-ce que je pense que je serai malade? Vous ne croyez pas qu'il va abandonner? Est-ce que je crois qu'il passera? Vous avez désiré qu'il vienne? Vous ne pensez pas qu'il le fasse? Vous ne voulez pas que je recommence? Je demande à être là. Je souhaite revenir. Est-ce que je voudrais que cela s'arrête? On aimerait recommencer. Il faudrait qu'il le fasse. Ce qui importe c'est que cela soit fini. Que voulez-vous que je fasse?

Interview 59

59, 1, 1, 2, 1
Il est assez étrange que Killy ait gagné les 3 rames de skis aux jeux Olympiques. Je redoute que Killy, en passant professionnel, ne finisse par perdre la pureté du sport du ski. Vous étonnez-vous que Killy ait gagné par 3 fois au concours des jeux olympiques? Je suis heureux que Killy ait gagné ces 3 rounds des Jeux Olympiques de Grenoble. On peut craindre que Killy finisse par perdre la pureté du ski en passant professionnel aux Etats-Unis. Est-ce que vous regrettez que les skieurs américains n'aient pas obtenu

plus de succès aux Etats-Unis? C'est dommage que les skieurs américains n'aient pas obtenu d'avantage de succès à Grenoble. Etes-vous déprimé par le fait que les skieurs américains n'ont pas obtenu d'avantage de succès à Grenoble? Il faudra que les skieurs français fassent plus d'efforts pour avoir de meilleurs résultats dans l'avenir. Il faut que Grenoble conserve un souvenir de ces jeux olympiques. Trouvez-vous inconcevable qu'on ait dépensé tant d'argent à Grenoble pour les Jeux Olympiques? Il est indispensable que le ski soit développé de façon plus populaire en France. Il a fallu que Honoré Bonnet fasse de gros efforts pour que les Français obtiennent de tels succès aux Jeux Olympiques. Pour que nous obtenions de semblables succès aux Jeux Olympiques, il faudra probablement de gros efforts encore. Pour autant que je sache, il est difficile de réussir aussi brillament à des Jeux Olympiques. Bien que New York soit une ville très difficile,je l'aime bien. Afin que nous aimions d'avantage New York, il faudrait que nous puissions passer plus de temps à la visiter. Quoique j'aime beaucoup le ski, je n'ai pas souvent l'occasion de le pratiquer. Avant que je ne puisse faire du ski, il faudra sans doute que j'y passe pas mal de temps. Jusqu'à ce que nous partions faire du ski à Montréal il y a 2 mois, nous n'en avions pas encore fait aux Etats-Unis. En attendant que nous allions faire du ski la semaine prochaine à Montréal, je ronge mon frein. Ce n'est pas que je n'ai pas envie de faire du ski, mais, mon travail me prend trop souvent. Où que nous allions, nous cherchons à faire du sport. A condition qu'il fasse beau, nous espérons faire beaucoup de ski la semaine prochaine à Montréal. Pourvu qu'il fasse beau, nous ferons du ski à Montréal. A moins qu'il ne fasse mauvais, nous ne ferons pas de ski à Montréal. En admettant que ma femme ne soit pas fatiguée, nous irons à Montréal la semaine prochaine. On peut toujours faire en sorte que l'on travaille et l'on fasse du sport où que l'on soit. Pour peu que ce mauvais temps continue, nous n'irons pas à Montréal ce week-end. A supposer que tout ce passe bien, nous passerons un bon week-end à Montréal. C'est le plus fort avant-centre que j'ai jamais connu. C'est la première fois de la saison que j'assiste à une telle représentation. C'est le seul véritable avant-centre que j'aie jamais vu. Il n'y a rien qui me fasse autant plaisir que de voir Killy gagner les jeux olympiques. On a toujours besoin d'un emplacement où parquer sa voiture. Je voudrais trouver une servante à qui confier la cuisine à la maison. On s'efforce de découvrir une voie qui mène à un bon résultat. On va créer un alphabet qui permettrait à tous les hommes du monde de se comprendre sans apprendre une language étrangère. On cherche un chant qui traduise tous nos sentiments. C'est la première fois que je suis aussi fier d'être Français, Si mal en point soit-il, je l'aime bien. Si curieux que cela puisse paraître, je suis satisfait. Quel que soit le pays, j'aime le visiter. Aussi charmante soit-elle, cela n'a pas d'importance. Quoi que vous fassiez, je vous aimerais quand même. Quoi qu'elle veuille, j'obéirais tout de même. C'est le meilleur joueur que j'aie jamais connu. Vous pouvez imaginer ce que vous voudrez, je n'en croirai rien. Il faut éviter de dire des choses que l'on ne pense pas. Il suffit d'aimer le sport pour le pratiquer. Il convient d'accepter certaines difficultés pour pratiquer du sport. C'est un des rares joueurs qui ait jamais satisfait ses entraîneurs. La lutte implique la volonté de vaincre. Il n'est pas vrai que je n'ai jamais essayé de réussir ceci. Il obtient toujours de bons résultats. Cela explique que vous échouiez si souvent. C'est bien ce que vous avez dit. Il est impossible de penser à tout dans la vie. Notre but est de réussir dans la vie. Il n'est pas difficile à comprendre que Killy ait dû s'entraîner énormément pour gagner les Jeux Olympiques de Grenoble. Je suis sûr que tous les Français ont été heureux de la réussite de Killy. Il n'est pas rare de voir des joueurs de grande classe échouer lors des concours. Ce n'est pas souvent que l'on assiste à un tel résultat. Il est douteux que vous réussissiez dans cette affaire. On n'adment pas que vous réussissiez dans cette affaire. Qui a intérêt à ce que vous réussissiez dans cette affaire? Vous ne pouvez nier qu'il réussisse dans cette affaire. Je suis persuadé qu'il a réussi. Pouvez-vous envisager qu'il échoue dans cette entreprise? Vous acceptez volontiers qu'il échoue dans cette entreprise. Mes idées sur la vie ne me permettent pas de penser qu'il réussira. Il est vrai que Killy a gagné la course. Il est fréquent que l'on échoue alors que l'on pensait réussir. Les Allemands veulent éviter une nouvelle guerre avec la France. Il paraît peu probable que Killy participe aux prochaines compétitons cet hiver. Vous pouvez affirmer que Killy a dû s'entraîner souvent chaque jours pour réussir cette performance. Vous pouvez faire comprendre à n'importe qui ce que vous voulez, pourvu que vous lui expliquiez correctement. Il est exclu que les skieuses françaises gagnent toutes les courses. Vous comprenez fort bien qu'Honoré Bonnet a dû travailler beaucoup pour accomplir les résultats qu'il a acquis. Il faut toujours accepter les ennuis qui vous arrivent. On conçoit fort bien que la guerre au Vietnam déplaise aux Français. Il paraît exclu que la guerre au Vietnam s'arrête dans les mois qui suivent. Il vaut mieux que la France maintienne sa position sur cette question-là. Il est temps que vous partiez, sinon vous manquerez votre train. Le réglement stipule que chacun obéisse à son supérieur. Il suffit que vous partiez pour qu'elle pleure. Il n'est pas impossible qu'Emmanuel soit malade demain. Comment se fait-il que vous n'avez pas fait ce que je vous avais demandé? Est-il normal que vous acceptiez ceci sans discuter? Il est certain que tout va bien aujourd'hui. Suis-je sûr de réussir dans cette affaire? Il n'est pas assuré que vous réussissiez dans cette affaire. Je ne suis plus sûr que nous obtenions les résultats que nous escomptions. Rien n'indique qu'il fera beau demain. Ce n'est pas tout de travailler; il faut encore se donner de la peine. Il semble que vous ayez oublié ce que je vous avais dit. Il est possible que demain le temps soit meilleur. Il n'y a pas de doute que vous avez réussi dans cette entreprise. Il n'est pas impossible que la musique vous plaise. Il se peut que nous allions au concert demain soir. Supposez que 2 et 2 font 5, je ne le croirais pas. Vous concevez mal ce que je vous ai dit. Il n'est pas sûr que vous aimiez le violon autant que moi-même. Vous ne doutez pas que ma femme joue bien du piano, mais cela est exact. Vous doutez fort que je vous crois; cela pourtant est vrai. Vous pensez qu'elle vous aime, mais vous vous trompez. Vous ne croyez pas que vous vous êtes trompé? Crois-je à cette performance? Vous avez désiré que je vienne, me voici. Vous ne pensez pas qu'il vaudrait mieux s'abstenir? Vous ne voulez pas que nous partions demain matin? Je demande à ce que nous partions demain matin. Vous souhaitez que je m'en aille...c'est bien, je le ferai. Est-ce que je voudrais que ce poste de télévision marche en ce moment? On aimerait que tout le monde pense comme ça. Il vaudrait mieux travailler pour que nous réussissions dans cette affaire.

Traditional Grammatical Categories Eliciting the Subjunctive and Their Most Frequent Stimuli

Grammatical Category	Most Frequent Stimulua	Rank
NOUN CLAUSES		
Verbs of Emotion	il est étrange	10
Verbs of Volition	que voulez-vous	1
Declarative Verbs	il est possible	4
ADJECTIVAL CLAUSES		
Unattained Antecedent	on cherche....qui	11
Superlative Antecedent	c'est le meilluer...qui	16
Negative Antecedent	il n'y a rien...qui	27
ADVERBIAL CLAUSES		
Purpose	pour que	5
Consequence	de façon que	56
Time	avant que	15
Concession	quoique	2
Comparison	pour peu que	46
Condition	pourvu que	3

Additional Studies

Taped Materials

1. Je m'occupe de vous, bien que vous soyez en retard.
2. Je vous parlerai puisque vous soyez là.
3. Je reste ici jusqu'à ce qu'elle vienne.
4. Je vous parlerai bien que vous êtes en retard.
5. J'ai besoin d'un étudiant qui sait lire et écrire.
6. C'est le dernier homme à qui nous parlions.

7. Je vais avec vous à moins qu'il pleuve.
8. Ses parents sont contents qu'il ait pu obtenir son diplome.
9. Je veux que tu viennes.
10. Je regrette que tu ne puisses pas venir demain.
11. Je doute que Paul ait une DS 19.
12. Il faut que nous fassions attention en classe.
13. Il se peut que je me sois trompé.
14. Vous n'êtes pas mécontent qu'elle est venue?
15. C'est la rue la plus étroite que nous avons jamais vue.
16. C'est la seule chose qu'on peut faire.
17. Je suis venu pour que vous ne serez pas seule.
18. Qu'est-ce que vous voulez que je fasse.
19. Sa mère est ravie qu'il n'a pas échoué.
20. Je suis venu pour que vous ne soyez pas seule.
21. Je doute qu'elle viendra.
22. Je vous ai écrit parce que votre mère est malade.
23. Je l'adorerai jusqu'à ce qu'elle meure.
24. Je voudrais bien que vous venez.
25. Je suis désolé que tu fais l'idiot.
26. Elle est sortie sans que sa mère le sache.
27. Vous ne vous doutez pas qu'elle paraîtra avec Jean Pierre.
28. Je souhaiterais qu'elle ne soit pas malade.
29. Il a frappé à la fenêtre afin qu'Alice l'entende.
30. Je voudrais le voir quoiqu'il soit tard.
31. C'est la seule façon dont nous puissions agir.
32. Il n'y a personne qui puisse vous aider.
33. Je cherche un étudiant qui sache lire et écrire.
34. Il est vrai qu'elle soit venue.
35. Je l'adorerai jusqu'au moment où elle mourra.
36. Je vous pardonne pourvu que vous vous excusiez.

37. Il n'y a rien qui peut vous sauver.
38. C'est le premier homme qu'elle a aimé.
39. Il a frappé à la fenêtre de sorte que Marie l'entendait.
40. Je vous parlerai puisque vous êtes là.
41. S'il fait beau, nous sortirons.
42. Aussitôt qu'elle arrivera nous pourrons partir.
43. Je vous verrai quand vous pourrez venir.
44. J'aurai l'argent à condition qu'elle ne le perdra pas.
45. Je vous pardonnerai pourvu que vous vous excuserez.
46. Je ne crois pas qu'il viendra.
47. Espérez-vous qu'il vienne?
48. Non que je ne le comprenne pas....
49. Il vaut mieux que nous fassions la vaisselle.
50. Non que je ne comprends pas ses probleèmes....
51. Je ne pense pas qu'il soit bête.
52. Je ne suis pas malheureux qu'il viendra.
53. Etes-vous mécontent qu'elle ne vous ait pas écrit?
54. Il croit qu'il aille pleuvoir.
55. Elle est sortie sans que sa mère le savait.
56. J'irai avec vous à moins qu'il ne pleuvra.
57. Je ne comprends pas qu'il ne soit pas venu.
58. Elle ne comprend pas que Pierre a pu faire ça.
59. Je ne comprend pas pourquoi il n'est pas venu.
60. Elle ne comprends pas que Pierre ait put faire ça.
61. J'aurai l'argent à condition qu'elle ne le perde pas.
62. C'est le premier homme que je connaisse.
63. C'est la plus grande rue que nous ayons jamais vue.
64. Je souhaiterais qu'il pleuvrait.
65. Après que nous arrivions, j'ai besoin de vous parler.
66. J'ai besoin de vous voir avant que vous ne partiez.
67. Je voulais la voir avant qu'elle ne parte.
68. Je voulais la voir avant qu'elle partait.
69. C'est le dernier homme à qui je parlerais.
70. Il faut que son mari fait la vaisselle.
71. Il est bien possible que je me suis trompé.
72. Il vaut mieux que tu viendras avec moi.
73. Il n'y a aucun doute qu'elle mette son manteau neuf.

Questionnaire

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Observations about Subjunctive Usage by the Authors of the Français Fondamental

(from pp. 207-208, Gougenheim, Michéa, Rivenc, Sauvageaut, L'Elaboration...)
"Etude du subjonctif.
L'enquête a consisté:
1. dans le dénombrement des subjonctifs, en distinguant les formes neutralisées, c'est-à-dire indentiques à celles de l'indicatif (chante, chantes, chantent, etc...) des formes non neutralisées, c'est-à-dire des formes différentes de l'indicatif (ailles, vienne, fasse, etc....).
2. dans le dénombrement des verbes employés dans la proposition principale qui entraînent le subjonctif dans la proposition subordonnée et des locutions conjunctives qui sont suivies du subjonctif.

Au total 676 subjonctifs ont été relevés, dont 229 neutralisés et 447 non meutralisés. Parmi les verbes de la principale qui entraînent le subjonctif dans la subordonée, le plus fréquent est falloir (F: 308, dont 229 identiques à l'indicatif). Viennent ensuite, avec de faibles fréquences: vouloir (35 fois dont 13 formes neutralisées), dire (9 fois), attendre (8 fois) et les expressions verbales avec être impersonnel, suivi de l'attribut, où la subordonnée joue le rôle de "sujet réel". On a relevé 9 fois des expressions du type "il est (nécessaire) que (tu partes)" et 14 fois des expressions du type "c'est (dommage) que (tu ne viennes pas)". Enfin, on relève 8 exemples de "avoir peur que" suivi du subjonctif.

La locution conjonctive suivie du subjonctif la plus fréquemment relevée est pour que (52 fois, dont 11 formes neutralisées); les autres n'atteignent que de très faibles fréquences; avant que (11 fois), à moins que (8 fois), bien que (7 fois)."

Pattern Drills

These sample drills, based on the frequencies of stimuli established in this study, can serve as guidelines in making up exercises for a presentation of the subjunctive as recommended in the preceding chapter.

1. Ajoutez je voudrais que:
   Exemple: Il regarde le télégramme.
   Réponse: Je voudrais qu'il regarde le télégramme.
   Tu demandes à ton père. Elle déjeune de bonne heure. Ils expliquent la leçon. Ils travaillent comme d'habitude. Il appelle son frère. On voyage en Europe. Elle visite le château. Il compte son argent.

2. Répétez et étudiez:
Je voudrais que vous en discutiez.
Je voudrais que vous en parliez.
Je voudrais que nous arrivions chez eux.
Je voudrais que nous voyagions avex eux.
The subjunctive ending for almost all verbs, regardless of stem changes, are as follows:
Il est possible que je... -e.
Il est possible que tu... -es.
Il est possible qu'il... -e.
Il est possible qu'ils... -ent.
Il est possible que nous... ions.
Il est possible que vous... iez.

3. Répondez à l'affirmatif:
Exemple: Est-ce qu'il est possible que nous donnions deux exemples?
Réponse: Oui, il est possible que nous en donnions deux.
Exemple: Est-ce qu'il est possible que j'envoie une carte?
Réponse: Oui, il est possible que j'en envoie une.
Est-ce qu'il est possible que je mange deux biftecks?... que nous regardions le match? ...que je discute deux aspects du problème?...qu'il poste trois télégrammes?... qu'elle lui prête cent francs?

4. Remplacez on dit que par il est bizarre que:
Exemple: On dit que vous chantez bien.
Réponse: Il est bizarre que vous chantiez bien.
On dit que vous lisez tout. On dit que vous suivez le cours. On dit qu'ils partent demain. On dit qu'elle remplit la fiche. On dit que tu vends ton auto. On dit que vous connaissez M. Lanson. On dit que nous ne finissons pas l'exercice.

5. Transformez les phrases selon l'indication; faites les changements nécessaires:
Exemple: Je vous réponds tout de suite (Il a fallu).
Réponse: Il a fallu que je vous réponde tout de suite.
Exemple: Vous n'entendez rien (Il est bizarre).
Réponse: Il est bizarre que vous n'entendiez rien.
Nous finissons notre travail (il a fallu); Il n'écrit jamais (Il est bizarre). Vous répondez à la question (Il est bizarre). Vous m'attendez (Il a fallu). Il connaît Irène (Il est bizarre). Ils connaissent Irène (Il a fallu). Je suis le cours du professeur Lanson (Il a fallu). Vous ne remplissez pas la fiche correctement (Il est bizarre).

6. Transformez les phrases suivantes en employant tu:
Exemple: Je veux l'appeler.
Réponse: Je veux que tu l'appelles.
Exemple: Je ne veux pas l'ennuyer.
Réponse: Je ne veux pas que tu l'ennuies.
Je veux l'arhêter,...les appeler,...la voir,... le croire, ...lui parler,...le retenir,...la prendre.
Je veux finir,...les conduire,...la connaître,...les suivre,...le comprendre. Je ne veux pas le remplir,... la conduire,...les connaître,...la suivre,...l'apprendre.

7. Répétez et étudiez les phrases suivantes:

Sois gentil.	Il faut que tu sois gentil.
Soyons sages.	Il faut que nous soyons sages.
Soyez tranquils.	Il faut que vous soyez tranquils.
N'aie pas peur.	Il ne faut pas que tu aies peur.
N'aiez pas peur.	Il ne faut pas que vous ayez peur.
Sachez ceci.	Il faut que vous sachiez ceci.

8. Répétez et étudiez:

Tu n'as pas fait le devoir.	Je regrette que tu n'aies pas fait le devoir.
Vous avez pris la voiture de Jeanne.	Je regrette que vous ayez pris la voiture de Jeanne.
Ils n'ont pas dormi.	Je regrette qu'ils n'aient pas dormi.
Elle y est allée toute seule.	Je regrette qu'elle y soit allée toute seule.
Vous n'y êtes pas resté(s).	Je regrette que vous n'y soyez pas resté(s).
Nous ne nous sommes pas amusés.	Il regrette que nous ne nous soyons pas amusés.
Il faut que je sois bientôt rentré.	Il faut que nous soyons bientôt rentrés.
Il faut que tu aies tout préparé.	Il faut que vous ayez tout préparé.
Il faut qu'il ait lu ces livres.	Il faut qu'ils aient lu ces livres.

9. Remplacez être prêt par le passé du subjonctif de finir de dîner:
Exemple: Il faut que je sois prêt dans une demi-heure.
Réponse: Il faut que j'aie fini de dîner dans une demi-heure.
Il faut que nous soyons prêtes dans une demi-heure. Il faut qu'ils soient prêts dans une demi-heure. Il faut qu'on soit prêt dans une demi-heure. Il faut que vous

soyez prêts dans une demi-heure. Faudra-t-il que je sois prêt dans une demi-heure? Faudra-t-il qu'elle soit prête dans une demi-heure? Faudra-t-il qu'elles soient prêtes dans une demi-heure?

10. Continuez selon l'indication:
Exemple: Il est possible qu'il n'ait pas fait exprès (il se peut).
Réponse: Il se peut qu'il n'ait pas fait exprès.
Il est étrange...il a fallu...c'est dommage...il n'est pas impossible...il paraît peu probable...il est bizarre...

11. Transformations:

Je te donnerai l'argent	pour que	tu finisses le travail.
	avant que	...
	...	on
	à condition que	...
	...	nous
	bien que	...
	...	tes amis
	pour que	...
	...	tu